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TRAVELS IN INDIA

BY

JEAN BAPTISTE TAVERNIER

BARON OF AUBONNE

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TRAVELS IN INDIA

BY

JEAN BAPTISTE TAVERNIER

BARON OF AUBONNE

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL FRENCH EDITION OF 1676

WITH A

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF THE AUTHOR,

NOTES, APPENDICES, ETC.

BY

V. BALL, LL.D., F.R.S., F.G.S.

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AUTHOR OF 'JUNGLE LIFE IN INDIA,' 'THE ECONOMIC GEOLOGY OF INDIA,' ETC.

IN TWO VOLUMES

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PREFACE

TAVERNIER'S name, owing to its frequent mention in histories and in works on precious stones, has long been known as that of one of the most renowned travellers of the seventeenth century. Possibly it would not be incorrect to speak of Tavernier as in some respects the most renowned traveller during that period when so much was done to bring home to the people of Europe information about countries which had previously been but little known.

Such being the case, it is not only somewhat surprising that there should be so much error in the published accounts of his life, but also that his *Travels*, although they have been frequently issued in various languages, have not, as a whole, been subjected to critical examination and elucidation with the aid of our modern knowledge of the countries which they describe.

Of Tavernier's life and work Prof. Charles Joret has given an exhaustive survey in a recently-published monograph. In the present volumes it is sought to present an approximately literal translation of the portion of the *Travels* which refer to India, accompanying it by such identifications of localities with modern sites,

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and such elucidation of obscure points, as have been possible under the circumstances.

As will be explained more particularly in the biographical sketch, the chief faults in Tavernier's encyclopædic volumes consist in a want of systematic arrangement of the subjects, a fuller and more carefully correlated chronology, and a reconciliation of really or apparently contradictory statements; such work, in short, as should have been done by the editors whom he employed, but which they appear to have either wilfully shirked or omitted to recognise as a part of their duty.

Upwards of two hundred years have elapsed since an English translation, that by John Phillips, has appeared; but owing to that translator's misconception of the author's meaning, through want of local knowledge, and to serious abridgment, it gives a very inadequate idea of the true merits of the work, which, except to those who have read it in the original, have therefore been practically unknown to English readers.

A word of explanation is due to the readers of these volumes as to how it has happened that the present editor came to undertake the onerous task of translation and annotation.

For a long time I have been well acquainted with the portions of Tavernier's works which deal with the economic mineral resources of India, and although I have published some accounts of these, having succeeded in identifying the sites of the diamond mines described by him, which were for a long time supposed

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by authors to be beyond the reach of recognition, I have felt that in order to truly represent him a new English edition, at least of the Indian travels, was much wanted, which would give his facts in their own setting and substantiate, by means of modern illustration, the strong claim which he has to be regarded as a veracious and original author.

Being fully mindful of my deficiencies as a philological and historical critic, I had, when further acquainted with the work, determined not to undertake the task myself, as I felt that such qualifications as I possessed, which were mainly derived from a long experience of travelling in India in connection with the Geological Survey of that country, would not make up for the lack of special knowledge in the subjects just alluded to.

Acting, however, under the advice of Colonel Yule, I commenced the translation and annotation in the year 1886, and have devoted the greater portion of my spare time since then to this work.

In speaking of the aid which Colonel Yule has ever been most ready to afford, I must guard against implying that the work has been completed in any way under his supervision; that for various reasons has not been possible, and it would be an ill return for so much assistance as I have received to lay upon him any responsibility for opinions which he has not had an opportunity of considering. At the same time the direct acknowledgments of his advice which are made in the footnotes by no means cover the extent of

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my indebtedness, and I regret the impossibility of doing more now than to give expression to my gratitude to him for his labour and advice in these somewhat general terms.

To Mr. V. A. Smith of the Bengal Civil Service I am indebted for much assistance and advice while passing this first volume through the press. His departure for India has deprived me of a continuation of his valuable aid in connection with the second volume.

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INTRODUCTION[1]

LIFE OF J. B. TAVERNIER

JEAN BAPTISTE TAVERNIER was born in Paris in the year 1605. This has been ascertained from the statement in the volume of his *Relations*, namely that in 1679 he was seventy-four years old. But there is no direct evidence as to the exact month or day of his birth, and they cannot now be ascertained owing to the disappearance of the registers of the Church at Charenton, where he was baptized.

Not very much is known of the family of his father Gabriel, of whom, however, it is recorded that he fled from Antwerp to Paris in 1575, together with his brothers Melchior and Nicolas, in order to avoid religious persecution, they being Protestants. They readily accepted French nationality, and it is suggested by M. Joret that their ancestors may have originally migrated from France to Belgium. Melchior became famous as an engraver and printer to the King; he was born in 1544, and died in 1641, at the age of ninety-seven years. Of Nicolas the record is more scanty, it being only known that he was married to Claudine le Bert, by whom he had a son named

1 Largely based on the excellent life of *J. B. Tavernier* by Prof. Charles Joret, Paris, Plon, 1886.

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Jacques. Of Gabriel it is known that like Melchior he was a geographer, but he appears to have been rather a merchant than an artist. He married Suzanne Tonnelier, by whom he had three sons—Melchior, baptized in 1594; Jean-Baptiste, who, as already stated, was born in 1605; and Gabriel, born in 1613. As will be seen hereafter, Tavernier mentions a brother Daniel[1] who died at Batavia in the year 1648, and there also appears to have been a brother named Maurice, whose son accompanied Tavernier on his sixth voyage. The possibility of Gabriel being identical with either Daniel or Maurice has been discussed, but there would be no advantage in retailing the various opinions here, as none of them are conclusive. Melchior, like his uncle, became distinguished as a chartographer; he died in 1665, during the last of Jean Baptiste's voyages to the East.

The geographical surroundings of Jean Baptiste, and the discussions which learned men held with his father, and to which he listened with avidity, served to inflame in his mind from his earliest years a strong desire to see foreign countries; but minute as are his descriptions of his travels, he, so far as his own autobiographical account is concerned, ignores the events of his early youth; and indeed it may be said that throughout he sinks his personality to such an extent that the actual period at which some of his adventures took place can only be arrived at by the casual mention of incidents and dates which are scattered about through his works, while with regard to others there are no indications whatever, and in reference to some

[1] See Book III, chap. xxvi. The name Daniel is printed on the map of Tonquin in Tavernier's account of that Kingdom.

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periods of his life we are left in complete darkness as to where and how they were spent.

By the age of twenty-two he had, he states in his "Design," seen the best parts of France, England, Holland, Germany, Switzerland, Poland?[1] Hungary, and Italy, and had acquired a fair knowledge of the most useful European languages. It would appear from M. Joret's estimate that these rambles must have commenced when he was only fifteen years old. It is not necessary to follow the details of these European travels here, as they are fully set forth on following pages in "The Design of the Author."

First Voyage.—Contrary to those writers who have stated that Tavernier started on his first voyage to the East in 1636, M. Joret has, I think, very clearly proved, by reference to the easily ascertained dates of historical events which took place while he was in Constantinople, that his departure cannot have been later than January or February 1631; and that, in 1633, after visiting Persia, he returned to Europe by Aleppo and Alexandretta to Malta, from whence he made his way to Italy, bringing with him some Persian turquoises as articles of trade. During the next five years his occupation is unknown, the record being almost blank.

Second Voyage.—On the 13th of September 1638 we find him again starting from Paris for the East, taking ship at Marseilles for Alexandretta, with a following consisting of a young Artist, a Surgeon, and his brother Daniel. He was, moreover, on this occasion well equipped as a merchant. After spending

1 Poland, as pointed out by M. Joret, does not appear to have been visited till he was twenty-five years old.

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six weeks at Aleppo he left it on the 27th December[1] with a caravan, and passing through Meshed, Bassora, and Shiraz, reached Ispahan at the end of April or beginning of May 1639. Here he visited the King, Sháh Safvi, grandson of Sháh Abbás. Our next record of him shows him to have been in Hindustan early in 1641, but as to the route which he followed, whether by sea or by land, and at what date he traversed it, there is no direct evidence. M. Joret suggests that he left Ispahan at the end of 1639, that he paid his first visit to Dacca in 1640, and that he remained in Agra during the winter of 1640-41. In 1641 he tells us that he was at Burhánpur on the journey from Agra to Surat, and elsewhere that he was at Goa at the close of the same year. His journey up from Surat to Agra in 1640, unlike the journey back *via* Burhánpur, was probably made by the Ahmadábád route which is described on pp. 66-89. At Agra he found Sháh Jahán enjoying a peaceable reign. From Goa he appears to have visited Golconda and made full inquiries and perhaps visited the diamond mines—returning to Surat by the land journey throughout, in the spring of 1642. How he occupied himself during the remainder of this year is uncertain; but he states that he paid a visit to Ahmadábád, probably while awaiting the season for sailing towards the end of the year 1642 or the beginning of 1643, when he states he was in Bandar Abbás.

THIRD VOYAGE. — We do not know when he reached Paris nor what route he followed; but we find

[1] I do not think it necessary to enter into any discussion here as to the enigmas presented by the incompatibility of some of his statements with these dates. (See Joret, p. 48.)

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him towards the close of 1643, namely on the 6th of December, starting thence on his third voyage to the East, arriving as before at Alexandretta. On the 6th of March 1644 he started from Aleppo in the company of two Capuchin monks, arriving at Ispahan on the 3d of May, where M. Joret considers he must have remained for some months, reaching Surat in January 1645, most probably by the Bandar Abbás route. On the 19th of January he started *via* Daulatábád and Nánder for Golconda, whence he visited the diamond mines, regarding which he had ascertained particulars, if he had not actually seen them, on the occasion of his previous journey. After visiting the mine of Raolconda, *i.e.* the modern Ramulkota, 18 miles south of Karnúl, he appears to have returned to Golconda and afterwards proceeded to the mine which he called Gani or Coulour; this, it will be seen, stands for Kán-i-Kollur on the Kistná, at seven days' journey eastwards, or more correctly south-eastwards, from Golconda. (See p. 172.) How the remainder of this year and the whole of 1646 were employed we cannot say. In connection with the descriptions of the above-named mines he also describes one at Soumelpour (see Book II, chap. xvii), which was situated on the Koel river, an affluent of the Sone, in the District of Lohárdagá in Western Bengal, but as to when he visited it, if ever, he gives no certain indication. There are some grounds for supposing that in 1647 he visited Persia, indeed he actually states (Book I, chap. viii) that he was in Ispahan towards the end of that year. Be this as it may, we find him on the 11th of January 1648 at Mingrela, that is to say Vengurla, on the west coast of India, where he had arrived from

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Surat in the Dutch vessel called *Mæstricht*. After nine days spent there, during which time he enjoyed the hospitality of the Dutch, who had a factory there, he embarked on an armed vessel for Goa, where he arrived on the following day, and was much struck with its decadence since his previous visit in 1641. During the two months which he spent in Goa he was on the most friendly terms with the Viceroy—the wealthy Dom Philippe de Mascarenhas,—the Archbishop, and the Inquisitor-General, by all of whom he was treated with much kindness, the latter having first satisfied himself that he had left his Bible behind him at Vengurla. On the 11th of March he returned to Vengurla, where he remained for more than a month, or till the 14th of April, when he embarked for Batavia, for the ostensible reasons of seeing so famous a place, and of rendering a service to the Dutch by conveying to them information about the discovery of a new port in Africa which had been made by the Portuguese. M. Joret probably rightly concludes that he was anxious to seek for and meet with his brother Daniel, whom he had not seen for ten years.

On this voyage Tavernier narrowly escaped shipwreck off the coast of Malabar, but at length succeeded in reaching the harbour of Point de Galle, in Ceylon, where, as usual, he was well received by the Dutch authorities. On the 25th of June, the merchandise having been transhipped to another vessel, the voyage was continued, and on the 17th of July the coast of Sumatra was sighted, and on the 22d Tavernier reached Batavia. On the following day he went to pay his respects to the General, Vanderling, and the Director-General, Caron, by whom he was at first

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well treated. Subsequently, however, he was involved in tedious investigations in reference to his relations with M. Constant, the Commander at Bandar Abbás, for whom he had purchased diamonds at the mines. These inquiries suddenly collapsed when Tavernier disclosed the fact that he possessed a very considerable amount of compromising information concerning the illicit transactions of the very members of the Council at Batavia who proposed to try him.

His stay at Batavia was interrupted by two short visits to Bantam, where he was well received by the King, of whom his brother was a boon companion ; and he also experienced much kindness from the English Resident, who offered him a free passage to England, which he at first accepted, but subsequently declined in favour of a similar offer made by the Dutch. Thereupon followed a serious contention about certain Dutch pay-bills which he had purchased at a considerable discount, intending to sell them at par in Holland, and so employ his capital during the voyage. This traffic having been prohibited, those who had bought bills were all, with the exception of Tavernier, both compelled to give up what they had purchased, and otherwise severely mulcted and punished. Tavernier held out to the last moment, but finally handed up the bills on promise of an order for payment of his outlay in Holland. Ultimately he sailed without this promise being fulfilled, and it was only after several years and the institution of an action against the Company in Holland that he, or rather his brother for him, received part of the sum due. From all these circumstances he, perhaps naturally enough, became a bitter enemy of the Dutch, and availed

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himself of every opportunity for manifesting his hostility.[1]

After his second return to Batavia from Bantam he was about to visit certain Kings in Sumatra, when his brother Daniel arrived in a dying state from Bantam; and shortly afterwards died, in spite of all that could be done to cure him.

Somewhere about the month of October, according to M. Joret's estimate, Tavernier sailed for Holland in a ship called the *Provinces*, which having passed the Sunda Straits, and failed to make the Cocos Islands, steered for the Cape of Good Hope, where it arrived in fifty-five days; and the fleet, after remaining there twenty-two days for the recovery of the sick, etc., proceeded to St. Helena, which was reached in eighteen days; and then halted for a further twenty-two days, when the crews and passengers of the several vessels in the port entertained one another. Ultimately, after some delays on account of contrary winds, the fleet reached Holland, where the Directors treated Tavernier with much politeness and hospitality; as regards his claim against them, they denied all knowledge of it at first, but finally offered to give him a free passage back to Batavia in order that he might get it paid there: this offer he declined to accept.

There is no precise intimation in the text as to when he arrived in Holland. M. Joret concludes that the voyage must have taken six months, and that, allowing for delays in Holland, he could not have reached Paris till the spring of 1649.

FOURTH VOYAGE.—Two years having been spent in Europe, which were occupied in the sale of the precious

[1] See his *Histoire de la Conduite des Hollandois in Asia.*

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stones brought by Tavernier from India, and in repeated efforts to recover his debt from the Dutch Company, he again started for the East, leaving Paris on the 18th June 1651. It was not till the 25th of August, however, that he sailed in the *St. Crispine* from Marseilles; and after touching at Malta and Larnaca in Cyprus, reached Alexandretta on the 4th of October, and Aleppo on the 7th. Owing to disturbances in the country he was unable to resume his journey eastwards till the last day of the year. It is needless here to detail his adventures in Persia from this time forwards till the 11th of May, when he embarked at Bandar Abbás on a ship belonging to the King of Golconda, which was bound for the port of Masulipatam, on the east coast of India. After narrowly escaping shipwreck he reached Masulipatam on the 2d of July—or perhaps for 2d we should read 12th, and on the 21st of July, together with M. du Jardin, he set out to march to Gandikot *via* Madras, which latter place he reached on the 13th of August. The description of this march will be found in Book I, chap. xviii. Here it need only be pointed out that conformably to his custom he made friends with the English who were residing in Fort St. George, and visited the Portuguese Governor and Catholic brotherhoods at St. Thomé. On the 22d of the same month he started by the valley of the Pennair River for Gandikot, which he might have reached from Masulipatam by a more direct and shorter route had he not desired to visit Madras. On the 1st of September he reached Gandikot, which Mir Jumlá, on behalf of the King of Golconda, had just taken possession of. As Mir Jumlá was not only the General of the troops but also Prime Minister, Tavernier

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had gone to him in order to show him—as he was bound to do, not merely as an act of courtesy but because it was the custom—the pearls and precious stones which he proposed to sell to the King. Several interviews which he had with Mir Jumlá served to impress him with a high opinion of that General's abilities. On the 15th Tavernier took leave after receiving his assurance that he had recommended him to his son at the Golconda court. His march northwards lasted till the 2d of October, when he reached Golconda. After some delay negotiations were opened with reference to the sale of the precious stones, but in consequence of a remark by a eunuch that the prices asked by Tavernier were too high, he took offence, and, together with M. du Jardin, left at once for Surat, following the same route as he had come by to Golconda in 1643.

In some of the editions the date of his showing the precious stones is given as the 25th (of October), but in the 1676 edition the 15th is mentioned; and as he started on the following day, and the distance was twenty-one[1] days or five days journey less than by the Aurangábád route, which was twenty-six days, he reached Surat either on the 5th or the 15th of November. Shortly afterwards his companion, M. du Jardin,[2] died, and Tavernier then set out for Ahmadábád, where he had been invited to bring his jewels by Sháistá Khán, who was then Governor of Gujarát. Thence he returned to Surat, and set out for Golconda on the 6th of March 1653 by the Aurangábád route, arriving at Golconda on the 1st of April.

[1] In Book I, chapter ix, p. 147, he says, however, twenty-seven days.

[2] As will be seen there is some uncertainty about the identification of this M. du Jardin. (See Index for references.)

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He then paid another visit to the mines, regarding which, as he gives no details, we must only conclude that any observations of importance made by him on this occasion are incorporated in the account of his previous visit in 1645, which has been above alluded to. He appears to have returned to Surat during the same year, as in Book III, chap. xiii, he refers to having, in the year 1653, when on the return journey from Golconda to Surat, encountered a troop of pilgrims. He says M. d'Ardilliere was with him, to which M. Joret objects that he had died in 1652. But had he? We know his father, M. du Jardin, had, but of himself there is, so far as I know, no such record. Tavernier next refers to being back at Surat, where he heard that war had been declared between the English and Dutch. On the 8th of January 1654 he sailed in one of a fleet of five Dutch vessels of war which were despatched from Surat to intercept the English fleet, which was then expected to be on its way back from Hormuz. After a naval engagement, in which the English were beaten, and various delays, the Dutch fleet proceeded to Bandar Abbás, arriving there on the 7th of March. Tavernier then started for Ispahan, visiting Kerman *en route*, where he purchased a large quantity of the beautiful wool of that country for transport to France. After a protracted stay in Persia, where he visited many places which he had not previously seen, he returned to Paris apparently in the autumn of the year 1655, but the information he gives on this point is very vague.

FIFTH VOYAGE. — In February 1657 Tavernier started from Paris on his fifth voyage. Shortly after leaving Marseilles, the vessel in which he had

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embarked was chased by pirates, and was compelled to take refuge in a port near Toulon, from whence he returned by land, carrying on his person the jewels which he was taking with him to sell in the East, but allowing his heavier merchandise to proceed in the same vessel. At Marseilles he again took ship in an English vessel for Italy. In Italy he spent a short time, and visited Ferdinand II of Tuscany, who treated him with kindness and distinction. He then sailed for Smyrna in a Dutch ship, and, while awaiting the departure of the caravan, sent one of his servants to buy some pearls in Constantinople, which he heard that a Jew residing there had for sale, because, he remarks, pearls were the best articles of trade which could be taken to India. At this time, according to him, Smyrna was the principal *entrepôt* for all kinds of goods which passed from Europe to Asia, and from Asia to Europe. From the vague indications given by Tavernier Prof. Joret concludes that he started with the caravan from Smyrna in June 1657. The journey was made by Erivan and Tabriz to Ispahan, without any event happening worthy of particular record. Owing to the accounts which reached him of the disturbed condition of India, in connection with the usurpation by Aurangzeb of his father's throne, Tavernier appears to have prolonged his stay in Ispahan till the beginning of 1659; but before starting for Surat, which his letter addressed to Sháistá Khán proves him to have reached in May of that year, he despatched to Masulipatam, in charge of one of his servants for safety, and perhaps to evade dues, the bulk of the beautiful objects and rare curiosities which he had collected for Sháistá Khán in Europe. Sháistá

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Khán's reply to his letter was an invitation to visit him at Jahánábád, sending him a passport to enable him to do so with ease and safety. Delayed by the rains, Tavernier had not started before he received other letters, first asking him to come to Burhánpur, and then to Aurangábád. When he went to take leave of the Governor of Surat, named Mirzá Arab, he was informed by him that until instructions came from Aurangzeb, who had been informed of his arrival, he would not be allowed to depart. He then wrote to Sháistá Khán, asking him to send an order to the Governor to let him go; this was done, and at length, after six months' delay at Surat, he set out and found Sháistá Khàn laying siege to Sholápur (Choupar) in the Deccan. As will be seen on pp. 31 and 409, there are some discrepancies in Tavernier's two accounts of the sale of and payment for his goods. It is inferred from a casual statement that, having concluded this transaction, he pursued his course farther southwards in order to visit the diamond mines at Golconda again, from whence probably he returned to Surat about the end of 1660 or beginning of 1661. In his *Persian Travels* he says (Book V, chap. ii) that he was in Persia in 1662, and during the same year he returned to Paris, his age being then fifty-six years. It was thought that, as he had by this time amassed a considerable fortune, and was married in the same year for the first time in his life, he would settle down and rest from his travels, which, as we have seen, commenced when he was only fifteen years of age. His wife was named Madeline Goisse, a daughter of Jean Goisse, a jeweller, with whom he had had some business transactions, and who was a connection by marriage of his brother Melchior.

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SIXTH VOYAGE.—Tavernier's original intention, expressed shortly after his marriage in 1662, was, however, to make a short journey to the East in order to close up his affairs there. As months passed in preparation, this intention expanded, and on the 27th of November 1663 he started from Paris, and did not return again for five years. On this occasion he took with him a young nephew, son of Maurice Tavernier, and four attendants of different professions, including a surgeon. His stock of precious stones, goldsmith's work, etc., was valued at 400,000 *livres*, which at 1s. 6d. would be equal to £30,000. On the 10th of January 1664 he embarked at Marseilles for Leghorn, and after passing through many misadventures, including a narrow escape of being drowned, he ultimately reached Smyrna on the 25th of April, where he remained till the 9th of June, when he left with the caravan for Tabriz. After three months' marching the caravan reached Erivan on the 14th of September, and Tabriz on the 9th of November, where two of the attendants, one a watchmaker and the other a goldsmith, died of sickness brought on by the fatigues of the journey. Here also Tavernier left his nephew Pierre in the charge of the Superior of the Capuchin Convent. On the 22d of November, having beforehand despatched his principal goods, he left with a small party for Ispahan, and arrived there on the 14th of December. Three days afterwards the King, Sháh Abbás II, who in 1657 had bought a quantity of jewels from him, summoned him to his palace, where he went in state accompanied by all the *Franks*, and bearing with him his most precious treasures, Father Raphael acting as interpreter. The Sháh first in-

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quired to whom he had sold the jewels which he had with him on the occasion of his last voyage, and he informed him that it was to Sháistá Khán, and that the price he received was 120,000 rupees, though he mentions no sum in the account of the transaction itself.

His present to the Sháh consisted of a large metallic mirror, which distorted the face of any one looking into it. All the jewels, with the exception of the pearls, were bought, after prolonged negotiation, at the high prices which Tavernier demanded. The Shàh being well pleased, however, Tavernier besought his protection for his nephew, and that he himself should be allowed to sell his goods in Persia, free of duty, both of which requests were granted, and he was further complimented by the bestowal of a robe of honour, and by being appointed jeweller in ordinary. Further, out of regard for him a good reception was promised to all *Franks* arriving in Persia. A portrait of Tavernier prefixed to the *Recueil*, published in 1679, and reproduced in Vol. ii, represents him clothed in this robe, with the addition of the mantle which was further conferred upon him by the express order of the Sháh. The total value of the sales made on this occasion was 3900 *tomans*, or £13,455, allowing £3 : 9s. for the *toman*. The Sháh gave him several designs for ornaments, made by himself, which he desired to have executed in gold, enamel, and precious stones. Curiously enough, Chardin relates that a similar order was given to himself in 1666.

At length Tavernier left Ispahan for India on the 24th of February 1665, and reached Bandar Abbás about the end of the first week of April, having made several halts on the road. On the 5th of May we find

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him once more at Surat. On the occasion of this voyage an injury happened to him at the hands of the Dutch, which, added to what had previously been done to him in Batavia, served to perpetuate his enmity and contempt. Having been entrusted by the English Resident with an important packet of letters for Surat, which it was believed contained information of the outbreak of war in Europe, it was stolen by the Dutch, a parcel of blanks being put in its place. The English in Surat were naturally indignant when, instead of their letters, they received these blanks, and it is said that Tavernier was threatened with assassination, in consequence of which all the plans he had made for his Indian tour were thrown into confusion. He sent a strong protest against this scandalous treachery to the General at Batavia, and stated that if satisfaction were not rendered, he would, on his return to France, carry the matter further, and would also inform the Sháh of Persia. He does not appear to have received any direct satisfaction, and this probably led him to write his exposures contained in *The History of the Conduct of the Dutch in Asia.*[1]

On arrival at Surat the Governor told him that Aurangzeb wished to be the first to see his jewels; and he further learnt that Sháistá Khán was in Bengal, so that although, in pursuance of his promise given on the last occasion, he desired to visit him first, he was compelled to go to Jahánábád, travelling prob-

[1] Described by Chardin, Amsterdam Ed., 1711, vol. iii, p. 154, as "a collection of the adventures of insignificant people, mostly Dutch; published out of a spirit of flattery, or on account of French animosity at the time."

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ably by Burhánpur, Sironj, Gwalior, and Agra, and arriving at Jahánábád in September. On the 12th of the same month he went to salute the Great Mogul, to whom, as well as to the nobles of the Court and others, he made presents amounting in all to the value of 23,187 *livres*. He then sold to the Mogul Aurangzeb a number of his most precious stones; and Zafar Khán, the Mogul's uncle, also bought several, but disputed the price of a large pearl, which he sought to buy at 10,000 rupees less than Tavernier demanded. Subsequently, it was bought by Sháistá Khán, who was then in Dacca, but with him too it became the subject of a serious dispute.

Tavernier remained two months at Jahánábád, and on the 1st of November, when he went to take leave, Aurangzeb pressed him to remain in order to witness his annual festival, which was then close at hand, promising him, if he would do so, that he would allow him to see all his jewels after it was over. So tempting an offer was at once accepted by Tavernier, and to this we owe some of the most interesting chapters in the whole of his travels.

The *fête* having concluded on the 9th of November, he was on the following day shown the jewels, including the great Mogul diamond. Shortly afterwards he left for Agra, and on the 25th (not the 15th, as an obvious though frequently repeated misprint has it in various editions) he started for Bengal, being accompanied by the celebrated French physician named Bernier and another friend named Rachepot. They reached Allahabad on the 7th of December, where they found Claude Maillé of Bourges installed as physician and surgeon to the Governor, but no hint

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is given as to whether he was the same person or not whom Tavernier mentions under the same name in the capacity of gun-founder at Gandikot for Mir Jumlá. Having obtained permission to cross the Ganges, they followed its left bank and arrived at Benares on the 11th, where they remained for two days, and then proceeded along the right bank to Patna, which they reached on the 20th. It is clear that on this occasion Tavernier did not turn down the valley of the Sone to Rohtas and the diamond mine at Soumelpur, and it is uncertain whether he ever went there; but he may have done so on his return and prolonged stay at Patna, or during his first journey to Dacca in 1640. After eight days spent at Patna he embarked on the 29th December (not January, as by an obvious misprint it is given in several of the editions), and passed down the Ganges, reaching Rajmahál on the 4th of January 1666. On the 6th M. Bernier left him to go to Kásimbázár, while he proceeded to Dacca, which he reached on the 13th, and on the following day went to visit the Nawáb, Sháistá Khán, to whom he made a valuable present. After selling him the goods which he had brought for him, and having received an order for payment on Kásimbázár, he started for that place on the 29th, and reached it on the 12th of February, being well received by Van Wachtendonk, the Director of all the Dutch factories in Bengal. On presenting his order for payment to the Mogul's Treasurer, he was informed by him that three days previously he had received an order not to pay it. Subsequently this Treasurer, acting under Sháistá Khán's instructions, offered to pay him the debt, less by 20,000 rupees. Tavernier enlarges on the causes which led

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to this treatment, attributing it to the machinations of Aurangzeb's officers to spite him for not having sold the jewels to them, in order that they might resell them to their master at an enhanced rate. There is no direct record of his subsequent movements, but he appears to have spent June and July in Patna, where, on the second day of the last-named month, he witnessed an eclipse of the sun. In August he probably reached Agra, where he seems to have met the representatives of the French company "for establishing commerce in Persia and India." He ultimately reached Surat on the 1st of November, and met there M. Thevenot, who was returning from Madras and Golconda, and of whose travels the published account serves to elucidate some points in Tavernier's narratives. Early in the year 1667 Tavernier left Surat—probably, as ingeniously calculated by M. Joret, in the month of February—for Bandar Abbás, where he met, among other Europeans, the famous traveller Chardin. At Ispahan he remained for some months, probably till the end of 1667. In the early part of the year 1668 he reached Constantinople, and made a prolonged stay there, finally reaching Paris on the 6th of December; and being then sixty-three years old, he resolved to enjoy the riches he had acquired and rest from his labours. His first care, he tells us, was to render thanks to God, who had protected him through all perils by sea and land during the space of forty years. His life after this period for sixteen years cannot be followed out in detail here from want of space. Those who desire details are referred to M. Joret's excellent volume. It is only possible to mention here a few of the principal events.

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Soon after his arrival in France he had an interview with Louis XIV, who was anxious to see so famous a traveller; and the distinguished traveller did not forget his business as a merchant, for he sold the King a large number of diamonds and other precious stones, and in February 1669, in consideration of his eminent services to France, he was granted letters, which conferred upon him a title of nobility; this was the full complement of his success. In April 1670 he purchased the barony of Aubonne, near Geneva, and in the following month he took the oaths, and was received by their Excellencies of Berne as "Seigneur Baron d'Aubonne." He restored the Castle, and orientalised its decorations, and it was here he prepared his notes for publication. It is commonly said that the *Voyages* were written from Tavernier's dictation by a French Protestant named Samuel Chappuzeau, but it is evident from many remarks scattered through the volumes, and, indeed, is sufficiently proved from the nature of the facts recorded, that many pages must have been written at or shortly after the time when the events took place, and by Tavernier himself. Chappuzeau, who had obtained considerable reputation as an historian and writer of theatrical plays, was prevailed on to edit Tavernier's notes, or, as he afterwards described it, to give form to the chaos, as the confused memoirs of the six voyages might be called. The statement attributed to Chappuzeau by Bayle, that the only written portions were by Father Gabriel, Capuchin, seems to be somewhat inconsistent with this. Chappuzeau states that it was with the greatest repugnance he undertook the work, and then only in consequence of Tavernier's having used his

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interest to get the King to prevail upon him to do so. His friendship for Tavernier was completely broken under the "mortification if not martyrdom" which he suffered, as he says, for the space of a year, while exposed to the rough humour of Tavernier and the ridicule of his wife. I agree completely with M. Joret in the opinion that the internal evidence is too strong to admit of the supposition that Tavernier was not personally the author of the larger part of the memoirs, and that from their very nature they could not have been written from mere verbal dictation. Chappuzeau doubtless edited them, and did his work very badly, as the numerous omissions and contradictions prove.

In the year 1675 Tavernier's first publication appeared under the title, "*Nouvelle Relation du Serrail du Grand Signior.*" His *magnum opus*, the *Six Voyages*, appeared in the following year;[1] and the "Design of the Author" which is prefixed conveys the idea that the whole was his own handiwork. The interest aroused in these works was considerable, and the number of editions which appeared in rapid succession (see Bibliography) amply attest the popularity of the work. In 1679 he published another volume, the *Recueil de plusieurs Relations.* In the preparation of this work he received the assistance of M. de la Chapelle, Secretary to M. de Lamoignon, M. Chappuzeau having refused to aid him further; but to what extent this assistance went it is impossible to say. This latter volume contains two portraits of Tavernier, one a bust, which is a work of high art, and is here reproduced, as also are the dedicatory verses by

[1] Paris, Gervais Clouzier, 1676, 2 vols. 4to.

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Boileau printed underneath it. The other is a full figure representing Tavernier in the robe of honour given him by the Sháh of Persia, to which reference has already been made on a previous page. Translations of these works soon appeared in English, German, and Italian, as will be seen in the Bibliography.

Some who were jealous of Tavernier's success did not hesitate to contrast his works with those of Thevenot, Bernier, and Chardin—who were perhaps better educated men and of a more philosophical turn of mind than he was, but it cannot be maintained that their works met with equal success; and it is apparent that the reading public preferred his facts and personal observations to the philosophic speculations which were added to the facts recorded by his rivals. Voltaire and others, though they wrote somewhat contemptuously of the value of Tavernier's work, did not influence the tide of opinion which had set strongly in his favour.

It is noteworthy, however, that Tavernier, in his references to the above-named travellers, speaks of them all with the utmost courtesy, when referring to his having met them, while they are either silent about him, or, like Chardin, mention him only to abuse him.

In the footnotes to the present work it will be seen that while obscurity and contradiction are not absent from the text, and the effects of careless editing of the original are much to be deplored, the general accuracy of the recorded facts, when submitted to critical examination in the light of our modern knowledge of India, is much greater than it was ever believed to be, even by his greatest admirers, who supposed them to be beyond

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the reach of elucidation or confirmation. Gemelli Careri[1] speaks of Tavernier as a dupe rather than a liar; but as I have met with no indications of either of these characteristics, I have not troubled to follow up his charges of error, as they refer chiefly to Persia, and M. Joret affirms that they have for the most part no foundation.

In a certain sense, to a limited degree, Tavernier may have been a plagiarist, but he openly avowed his endeavours to obtain information wherever he could. His historical chapters, for instance, may have been derived from Bernier's writings, or, what is more probable, from conversations with him when they travelled together down the Ganges; while the chapters on places he had not himself visited were, of course, founded on information collected from various sources, but principally from persons who gave him their own personal experiences of the countries. Thus, probably, is to be explained the resemblance noted by Dr. Hyde[2] between a passage by Tavernier and one by Louis Morera in a work published at Lyons in 1671, which was founded on papers by Father Gabriel de Chinon. We know that Tavernier saw much of Father Gabriel in Persia, and he may have learned the facts from him if he did not himself observe them.

M. Joret gives an interesting account of the controversies and polemical literature which were roused in the seventeenth century by the publication of Tavernier's volumes; and in discussing the published biographies of Tavernier he points out that

[1] *Voyage Autour du Monde*, translated from the Italian. Paris, 1727. 12mo.

[2] See Rose's *Biographical Dictionary*, Art. "Tavernier."

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they are all founded on the erroneous and amplified statements of Henrick van Quellenburgh,[1] Jurieau,[2] Chappuzeau,[3] Bayle, and others. M. Joret asserts that the article on Tavernier in the *English Cyclopædia*, alone, of all the biographies, does full justice to his character.

During the period which elapsed from the publication in 1679 of his last volume up to 1684, there is reason for believing that Tavernier lived an active, commercial, though somewhat retired life. In 1684 he started from Paris for Berlin, being called thither by Frederick William, Elector of Brandenburg, to advise with him on his projects of colonisation and commercial enterprise in the East, and to undertake to open up negotiations on his behalf with the Great Mogul. M. Joret maintains that there is no foundation for the view that Tavernier had been ruined at this time by the misconduct of his nephew, to whom he entrusted a valuable cargo for the East. On the contrary, he went to Berlin, *en véritable grand seigneur*, at the age of seventy-nine years, attracted by the offer of becoming the Elector's ambassador to India, being still full of bodily energy and possessing an enterprising spirit. M. Joret, by means of an unpublished manuscript, has been enabled to trace his circuitous journey through the principal countries of Europe. Many interviews took place with the Elector, at which the arrangements for the Embassy and the formation of the trading company were discussed. Three armed vessels were to convey

[1] *Vindicia Batavica ofte Refutatie van het Tractact van J. B. Tavernier*, etc. Amsterdam, 1684. 4to.

[2] *L'Esprit de M. Arnaud tiré de sa conduite et des écrits de lui et de ses disciples*, etc. *Deventer*, 1684. 12mo.

[3] *Défense du Sr. Samuel Chappuzeau contre un satire intitulée l'Esprit de M. Arnaud.*

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it, and Tavernier, besides being nominated Ambassador, was appointed to the honorary offices of Chamberlain to the Elector and Counsellor of Marine. Soon afterwards he resolved to sell his estate at Aubonne, probably to obtain capital for his own speculations.

After six weeks spent in Berlin, he left on the 15th of August for Hamburg, and then paid a number of visits to different towns in Germany, Holland, etc., finally returning to Aubonne in November. In January 1685 he was again in Paris, when he sold the land and barony of Aubonne to the Marquis Henri du Quesne for 138,000 *livres* of French money, with 3000 *livres* more for the horses and carriages, the actual transfer being made by his wife Madeline Goisse, as he himself was at the time still in Paris. This sale completed, he would have been free to go to Brandenburg, but was delayed, as M. Joret suggests, in order to realise the 46,000 *écus* provided for in the letters patent constituting the Company, and which were to cover the costs of equipment of the vessels required for the first voyage. The prejudice which existed against Protestants before the revocation of the Edict of Nantes accounts for some of the difficulties he experienced in settling his affairs. M. Joret is disposed to treat as unfounded the story that Tavernier was at this time imprisoned in the Bastille as one of those who suffered from the oppression practised on the Protestants. It is proved, however, by the manuscript archives of the Bastille, which M. Joret quotes, that some one of the name of Tavernier was incarcerated there on the 13th of January 1686. If he was not there he was probably somewhere in Paris, for by that time the projected company of the Elector had come to naught, and Tavernier's home at Aubonne

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in Switzerland had been sold. At upwards of eighty years of age his commercial instincts had led him to intrust a valuable cargo for India, worth 222,000 *francs*, to his nephew, Pierre Tavernier, son of the goldsmith of Uzes, who we have seen was left by him at Tabriz in the year 1664 in the charge of the Superior of the Capuchin Convent in order to learn the Persian language. It is commonly said that this nephew settled in Persia and defrauded him of his profits, which should have amounted to a million of *livres*. On the 9th of July 1687 we hear of Tavernier again, as obtaining a passport to Switzerland for three or four months, subject to a bail of 30,000 *livres*. At this time he set out on his seventh journey to the East in order to recover his losses, as it is believed by some; but be this as it may, to M. Joret belongs the honour of having effectively followed up the question as to where the famous traveller ended his days. Traces of his having been in Copenhagen in 1689 (or more probably in 1688) were discovered by Prof. Steenstrup, to whom inquiries were addressed by M. Joret. In the Russian review, "*Le Bibliographie*," for the month of February 1885, M. T. Tokmakof has described how, in the year 1876, when visiting an old Protestant cemetery near Moscow, he discovered the tomb of Tavernier, as M. Guerrier described it in a letter to M. Joret, with the name still preserved in full, and a fragment of the obliterated date, 16—. Moreover, M. Tokmakof discovered documents proving that Tavernier, carrying with him the passport of the King of Sweden, arrived in Russia early in February 1689, and that instructions were sent to the frontier to facilitate the journey of the illustrious visitor to Moscow.

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M. Joret concludes with a well merited panegyric on the subject of his biography—the merchant-traveller whose reputation no French writer has previously attempted to protect from hostile critics, although the anonymous writer of the article in the *English Cyclopædia* has written in strong terms of his peculiar and unrivalled merits.

To the testimony thus given, and to that which is afforded by the popularity of Tavernier's works in the last century, the present writer confidently expects that readers of the following pages will accord a liberal and hearty confirmation.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY

As I cannot find in any of the Bibliographical Dictionaries an exhaustive treatment of the numerous editions of Tavernier's works, I have felt it necessary to go into fuller detail here than would have otherwise been advisable, owing to the amount of space required for proving the distinction between various issues, which can only be done by quoting titles. Such an analysis as that given below should prove of use, as I have had occasion to observe that copies have sometimes been incorrectly bound up, Tavernier's works being in consequence not readily distinguishable from those of other authors with which they have been mingled.

Primarily this list is based upon one by Professor Joret,[1] but, as will be seen on comparison, his catalogue has been much modified and amplified, the number of editions and translations being raised from twenty-six to thirty-eight.

My work having been done in Dublin, I have been interested to find what a number of the editions of Tavernier's volumes there are in the libraries of that city. In one which is seldom resorted to, namely that of Archbishop Marsh, there are six, though the library has been generally supposed to contain *only* ecclesiastical literature.

My thanks are due to the Bishop of Down and Connor for information regarding the copies in Armagh Library, and to the Librarians of the Bodleian and University College libraries for information about editions mentioned in their catalogues regarding which there were some statements which did not agree with other information available to me.

[1] *Jean Baptiste Tavernier*, Paris, Plon, 1886.

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I

THE FRENCH EDITIONS OF THE "VOYAGES" AND "RELATIONS" OF TAVERNIER.

FRENCH.

1. **1675.**—*Nouvelle* | *Relation* | *De l'intérieur* | *Du Serrail* | *du* | *grand Seigneur* | *contenant plusieurs singularitez* | *qui jusqu'ici n'ont pas esté mises en lumière* | *Par J. B. Tavernier ecuyer Baron* | *d'Aubonne* | *A Paris* | *chez Olivier de Varennes* | MDCLXXV | 4to.

   There is a copy of this in Marsh's Library, Dublin.

2. **1676.**—*Les Six* | *Voyages* | *de Jean Baptiste* | *Tavernier,* | *Ecuyer Baron D'Aubonne,* | *Qu'il A Fait* | *en Turquie, en Perse,* | *Et Aux Indes,* | *Pendant l'espace de quarante ans, & par toutes les* | *routes que l'on peut tenir: accompagnez d'obser-* | *vations particulieres sur la qualité, la religion,* | *le gouvernment, les coûtumes & le commerce* | *de chaque pais; avec les figures, le poids, & la* | *valeur des monnoyes qui y ont cours* | *Premier Partie* | *Où il n'est parlé que de la Turquie, & de la Perse* | Volume II has the same general title, save for the last two lines, which run *Seconde Partie* | *Où il est parlé des Indes, & des Isles voisines* | —*A Paris,* | *Chez Gervais Clouzier &c.* | *et* | *Claude Barbin, &c.* | *au Palais* MDCLXXVI. 2 vols. 4to.

   It is from this, the best edition, that the present translation has been made. For the most part the misprints which it contains are repeated in the subsequent editions.

3. **1677.**—A reprint of the above, but the pages are, I think, smaller. I have seen two copies.

4. **1678.**—*Nouvelle relation de l'interieur du serrail du Grand Seigneur,* etc. Amsterdam. J. Van Someren. 12mo. (Brunét and M. Joret.)

5. **1678.**—*Les Six* | *Voyages* | *de* | *Jean Baptiste Tavernier* | *Ecuyer baron d'Aubonne* | *en Turquie, en Perse* | *et aux Indes,* etc. [*Suivant la copie* | *Imprimée* | *à Paris* | *Amsterdam.* on the engraved title] *chez Johannes Van Someren l'an* 1678. 2 vols. 12mo.

   I have seen two copies of Vol. I and one of Vol. II of this edition. The page and type are smaller than in No. 9 below. There are copies in Marsh's and University College (London)

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Libraries, and I am informed by the Librarian of the latter that it is incorrectly described in the catalogue as 18mo. Brunét says the edition is rare, but neither fine nor complete.

6. **1679.**—Reprint of No. 2 (according to Brunét).

7. **1679.**—*Recueil* | *de Plusieurs* | *Relations* | *et* | *Traitez singuliers et curieux* | *De* | *J. B. Tavernier* | *Escuyer Baron d'Aubonne* | *Qui n'ont point este mis dans ses six premiers Voyages* | *Divise en cinq Parties*, etc. *A Paris chez Gervaise Clouzier* MDCLXXIX, 4to.

Contains two fine portraits of Tavernier. It makes a uniform third volume to No. 2. Facsimiles of these portraits are given in the present edition.

8. **1681.**—A reprint of No. 7 (according to Brunét).

9. **1679** (I and II), **1681** (III).—*Les Six Voyages*, etc. Same title as No. 5. *Suivant la copie imprimée a Paris.* Engraved title in some copies as in No. 5, therefore probably by Van Someren of Amsterdam. 3 vols. in 12mo. Vols. I and II are in Trinity College Library, Dublin, and I have Vols. II and III, but they contain no indication of printer, publisher, nor place of publication. Brunét says there were two issues of Vols. I and II, and I find that the two above-mentioned copies of Vol. II vary slightly in the ornament on the title. Vol. I contains the Persian Travels, Vol. II the Indian Travels, and Vol. III the Recueil and Seraglio.

10. **1692.**—Reprint of No. 9. 3 vols. 12mo.

11. **1702** and **1703.**—This edition is mentioned in the references below. I know no more about it. Probably it was a small 8vo.

12. **1712.**—*Les Six Voyages de J. B. Tavernier*, etc. Utrecht. 2 vols. 12mo.

Recueil de plusieurs relations et traitez, etc. Utrecht 1702 (should be 1712?). 1 vol. 12mo.

There is possibly a mistake in describing these two last as being 12mo, for I am informed that the Bodleian contains an edition as follows:—*Les six Voyages*, etc. Part I. Utrecht, 1712. Small 8vo. Leaves only $6\frac{1}{8}$ in. high, with engraved title 1702. Do. do. Part II, *Suivant la copie imp. a Paris*, 1703. Small 8vo, as Part I. Part (Vol.) III, *Recueil de plusieurs . . . avec la relation de l'interieur du serail suivant la copie imp. a Paris*, 1702. Small 8vo.

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13. **1713.**—*Les Six Voyages de J. B. Tavernier*, etc. Nouvelle ed., Paris. Ribou. 5 vols. 12mo.

Brunét says it is badly printed.

14. **1713.**—*Les Six Voyages de J. B. Tavernier*, etc. Rouen, Machuel (according to Joret). 6 vols. 12mo.

15. **1713.**—An edition similar to the last, but differs in having the name Eustache Herault on the title page. There is a copy in the India Office Library.

16. **1715.**—*Les Six Voyages*, etc. La Haye. 3 vols. 12mo.

This is on the authority of M. Joret. Perhaps identical with next.

17. **1718.**—*Les Six Voyages*, etc. La Haye, H. Schwendler. 3 vols. (in 6 parts). Small 8vo; pages barely exceeding 6 inches. Utrecht 1702 on engraved title. There is a copy in the Bodleian.

18. **1718.**—*Les Six Voyages*, etc. Amsterdam (Rouen). 3 vols (in 6 parts). 12mo (according to M. Joret).

19. **1724.**—*Les Six Voyages*, etc. Rouen, Machuel le Père. 6 vols. 12mo (according to M. Joret).

20. **1724.**—*Les Six Voyages*, etc. Rouen, Machuel le Jeune. 6 vols. 12mo (according to M. Joret).

The Bodleian contains two vols. of one of the two last editions or separate issues. They are described as follows:—*Les Six Voyages*, etc., Nouv. Ed. Tome I. Rouen, 1724. 12mo (leaves $6\frac{1}{4}$ in. long) . . . *Suite des Voyages*, etc., Nouv. Ed. Tome II. Rouen, 1724. Tome I has the engraved title, dated 1712.

21. **1755.**—Considerable extracts from Tavernier's travels are given in the *Histoire Generale des Voyages*, by M. l'Abbe Prévost, which was republished with additional notes in Holland (La Haye) in 1755. Most of these extracts are included in Vol. XIII of the latter edition.

22. **1810.**—*Les six Voyages de J. B. Tavernier, &c. Edition entièrement refondu corrigée accompagnée d'eclaircissements, historiques et critiques etc. par J. B. J. Breton, Paris, Veuve Lepetit.* 7 vols. 18mo.

I regret not having had an opportunity of seeing a copy of this edition, which may contain some useful critical information.

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23. **1882.**—*Les six Voyages de J. B. Tavernier en Perse et dans les Indes pendant quarante annes. Et par toutes les routes que l'on peut tenir, Racontés par lui meme, Reduits et annotés par Maxime Petit.* Dreyfus, Paris. 12mo.

This edition is in a popular and abridged form; it contains no critical information of importance.

II

Translations of Tavernier's Travels into Different Languages.

A.—English.

1. **1677.**—*A New | Relation | of | the Inner Part | of the | Grand Seignors | Seraglio | containing | Several Remarkable Particulars never before ex | pos'd to publick View | by J. B. Tavernier Baron of Aubonne | London | Printed and Sold by R(obert) L(ittlebury) and Moses Pitt* | 1677 |

2. **1677.**—*The Six | Voyages | of | John Baptiste Tavernier Baron of Aubonne | through | Turky into Persia | and the | East Indies | for the Space of Forty Years | giving an | Account of the Present State of those countries, viz. of the Religion, Government | Customs and Commerce of every country; and | the figures weight and value of the money | currant all over Asia | To which is added | The Description of the Seraglio | made English by* [1]*J(ohn) P(hillips) | Added likewise | A voyage into the Indies &c. By an English Traveller never before printed | London | Published by Dr. Daniel Cox | London | Printed by William Goodbid for Robert Littlebury at the King's Arms in Little Britain & Moses Pitt at the Angel in St. Paul's Churchyard* 1677. 1 vol. fol.

There is a copy of this in Marsh's Library, Dublin.

3. **1678.**—This edition differs from the preceding in the title and date having after the word London—*Printed and sold by Robert Littlebury at the King's Arms in Little Britain and Moses Pit*[2] *at the Angel in St. Paul's Church Yard* 1678. 1 vol. fol.

There is a copy of this edition in the India Office Library.

[1] The J is printed like an F, and is sometimes erroneously quoted as such (see Professor Joret's list). I can find no confirmation of the existence of an edition by Phillips dated 1676, which is given by Professor Joret.

[2] M. P., or Moses Pitt, was not particular as to the spelling of his name, as we have Pitt, Pit, and Pytt.

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Both titles contain a blunder about the "Voyage into the Indies by an English Traveller," as the paper referred to, itself bears the title a "Description of all the Kingdoms which encompass the Euxine and Caspian seas," and contains no mention of India; it is signed 'Astrachan,' and the writer says he was an Irishman. It is dated 1677 on its own title.

4. **1678.**—*The Six* | *Voyages* | *of* | *John Baptista* | *Tavernier* | *A noble man of France now living* | *through* | *Turky into Persia* | *and the* | *East-Indies* | *Finished in the year* 1670 | *Giving* etc. etc. 1 vol. Fol.

The blunder just referred to is corrected in this title, and there is some variation in the names of the printers, etc.

Both the last editions contain a letter to Sir Thomas Davies, Lord Mayor of London, and in the last there is also a dedication by J. Phillips to Dr. Daniel Cox. There are two copies of this edition in Trinity College Library, Dublin.

5. **1680.**—*A* | *Collection* | *of Several* | *Relations and Treatises* | *singular and curious* | *of* | *John Baptista Tavernier* | *Baron of Aubonne* | *not printed among his first six voyages,* | etc. etc. *Published by Edmund Everard Esq.* | *Imp.* etc. | *London* | *Printed by A. Goodbid, and J. Playford for Moses Pitt at the* | *Angel in St. Paul's Churchyard.* 1680. *Folio.*

This contains a dedication to Sir Robert Clayton, Lord Mayor elect, and it consists of five parts.

There are copies in Trinity College, Dublin (2), the Bodleian, Marsh's, and the Armagh Libraries.

6. **1684.**—*Collections* | *of* | *Travels* | *Through* | *Turkey into Persia & the East Indies* | *Giving an account of the* | *Present State of these countries* | *as also* | *A full relation of the Five years wars between* | *Aurengzebe & his Brothers,* etc. . . . | *Being* | *the Travels of Monsieur Tavernier, Berniez* | *and other great men, Adorned with many copper Plates* | *The First Volume* | *London* | *Printed for Moses Pitt at the Angel in St. Paul's Churchyard* | MDCLXXXIV.

This contains a preface by Edmund Everard, who says that "*In this work was employed the Help of another Worthy Gentleman,*[1] *who labour'd in the first Volum of Tavernier's Translation;*

[1] The worthy gentleman was presumably John Phillips, the translator of the previous editions. Whether his character justified this description is doubtful. He was a nephew of John Milton, his mother having been Milton's sister.

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but it was brought to an end & perfection by me, who had the occasion to be more particularly acquainted with Monsieur Tavernier himself, his Native Tongue, and other Particularities abroad."

Vol. II contains the same general title, it includes, together with Tavernier's Relations, etc., the paper on the Euxine, etc., referred to above, which is prefixed by a special "Publisher unto the Reader," pp. 95-100, but the writer's name is not given: perhaps he was John Phillips or Dr. Cox. The latter part of the Volume consists principally of translations of Bernier's books and letters.

There are copies of this edition in the India Office and Marsh's Libraries, and I possess one which was obtained a few years ago from Mr. Quaritch.

7. **1688.**—An issue of this year has the same general title-page as the preceding, and the pagination is identical throughout, but the following is different:—*The first Part* | *London Printed for M(oses) P(itt) and are to be sold by George Monke at the White Horse* | *without Temple Bar and William Elevey at the Golden Lyon and Lamb* | *over against the Middle Temple Gate* MDCLXXXVIII.

There is a copy of this in the King's Inns Library, Dublin. It contains no dedication.

8. **1764.**—Harris, in his Voyages and Travels, gives large extracts from Tavernier.

9. **1811.**—Pinkerton (*Travels*, Vol. VIII, pp. 235-257), gives Tavernier's Book II, chaps. xv, xvi, xvii, xviii, xix, xx, xxi, and Baron's animadversion on Tavernier's account of Tonquin is in Vol. IX, pp. 656 and 692.

B.—GERMAN.

1. *Tavernier J. B. Beschreibung der sechs Reisen in Turkey Persien und Indien nebenst der Beschreibung des Turkischen serails und der Kronung des Kœnigs Soliman in Persien, herausgegeben von J. H. Widerhold*, 3 Theile mit Portraits, Karten, und Abbildungen. Genf. 1681. Folio.

2. *Kurtzer Begriff*, etc. Genf, J. H. Widerhold. 1681. Folio.

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3. The *Nouv. Biog. Générale* mentions a German edition of 1684, perhaps a mistake for the English Ed. of that year.

4. *John B. Tavernier weyl Ritters und Freyherrn von Aubonne in der Schweiz, Beobachtungen über das Serrail des Grossherrn.* Auf seiner sechsmaligen Reise nach der Türkey gesammelt. Nebst vielen eingestreuten Bemerkungen über die Sitten und Gewohnheiten der Türken. Memmingen 1789 bei Andreas Seiler. In 12mo. 179 pages. (According to Joret.)

C.—Dutch.

1. An edition in Dutch in 1682. 4to. According to *Nouv. Biog. Générale.*

D.—Italian.

1. *Tavernier J. B. Viaggi nella Turchia nella Persia e nell India stampati in lingua francese ed ora tradotti da Giovanni Luetti, Roma* 1682. 2 vols. in 4to.

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LES SIX

VOYAGES

DE JEAN BAPTISTE

TAVERNIER,

ECUYER BARON D'AUBONNE,

QU'IL A FAIT

EN TURQUIE, EN PERSE, ET AUX INDES,

Pendant l'eſpace de quarante ans, & par toutes les routes que l'on peut tenir : accompagnez d'obſervations particulieres ſur la qualité, la religion, le gouvernement, les coûtumes & le commerce de chaque païs ; avec les figures, le poids, & la valeur des monnoyes qui y ont cours.

SECONDE PARTIE,

Où il eſt parlé des Indes, & des Iſles voiſines.

A PARIS,

Chez { GERVAIS CLOUZIER, ſur les degrez en montant pour aller à la Ste Chapelle, à l'Enſeigne du Voyageur. ET CLAUDE BARBIN, ſur le ſecond Perron de la ſainte Chapelle. } au Palais

M. D. C. LXXVI.

AVEC PRIVILEGE DV ROY.

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DEDICATION

TO THE KING

SIRE—

The zeal which I have for the service of your Majesty, and for the honour of France, does not permit me to enjoy the repose which I believed had come to me after such prolonged labours. My age not permitting me to undertake new voyages, I have experienced a kind of shame at finding myself of no use to my country, and at not acquitting myself of all which it expects from me. I have thought it to be my duty to it to render an account of my observations upon that which I have seen, and have not been able to excuse myself from making public. I hope, SIRE, that these exact and faithful accounts which I have written, since my return, from the notes which I have collected, will not be less useful to my country than the valuable articles of merchandise which I have brought back from my travels. For my object in this work is not merely to assuage public curiosity. I have proposed for myself a more noble and more elevated aim in all my deeds. As the hope of legitimate gain alone has not made me traverse these regions, so the sole desire of placing my name in this book has not caused me to-day to have it printed. In all the countries which I have traversed, my strongest desire has always been to make known the heroic qualities of YOUR MAJESTY, and the wonders of your reign, and to show how your subjects excel by their industry and by their courage all other nations of the earth. I venture to say to YOUR MAJESTY that I have done so with more boldness, and even more success, than those who had a title and an authority to speak. My method of action, hostile to deception, and possibly somewhat too free, has exposed me to many risks among the nations jealous of our prosperity, who defame us as far as they can in order to exclude us from trade. I have often risked both my fortune and my life by

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exalting YOUR MAJESTY by my words above all the monarchs of Europe and these Kings of the East—even in their very presence. I have emerged with honour from all these dangers by impressing a respect for your name in the hearts of these barbarians. Under the shadow of this august name, respected throughout the world, I have travelled more than 60,000 leagues by land in perfect safety. I have six times traversed Turkey, Persia, and the better part of India, and was the first to attempt to go to the famous diamond mines. Too happy to have brought precious stones which YOUR MAJESTY has condescended to join to the jewels of your throne, but still more happy to have made observations in all these places, to which YOUR MAJESTY will possibly not deem it unworthy to devote some moments, as you will find there many details of three of the most powerful Empires of Asia. You will see the manners and customs of the people dwelling there at present. I have interposed in certain places stories, which may relieve the mind after a tedious march of caravans, imitating in that the Orientals, who establish *caravan-saráis* at intervals in their deserts for the relief of travellers. I am principally devoted to the description of the territories of Turkey, Persia, and the Mogul, in order to point out on the five different routes which one may take to go to them certain common errors with reference to the positions of the places. Although these accounts may be wanting in grace and in politeness of language, I hope that the diversity of the curious and important matters which they contain, and more particularly the veracity which I have scrupulously observed, will nevertheless cause them to be read, and possibly to be esteemed. I shall consider myself well repaid for my work if it has the good fortune to please YOUR MAJESTY, and if you accept this evidence of profound respect.

With which I am,
SIRE,
YOUR MAJESTY'S
Very humble, very obedient, and very faithful
Servant and Subject,

J. B. TAVERNIER.

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DESIGN OF THE AUTHOR[1]

Wherein he gives a brief account of his first travels in the fairest parts of Europe up to CONSTANTINOPLE.

IF the first education is, as it were, a second birth, I am able to say that I came into the world with a desire to travel. The interviews which many learned men had daily with my father upon geographical matters, which he had the reputation of understanding well, and to which, young as I was, I listened with pleasure, inspired me at an early age with the desire to go to see some of the countries shown to me in the maps, which I could not then tire of gazing at.

At the age of twenty-two years I had seen the best parts of Europe, France, England, Holland, Germany, Switzerland, Poland, Hungary, and Italy, and I spoke fairly the languages which are the most necessary, and which have the greatest currency.

My first *sortie* from the Kingdom was to go to England, where the reigning monarch was James I., Sixth King of Scotland, who caused himself to be called King of Great Britain, to satisfy both the English and Scotch by a name common to these two nations. From England I passed into Flanders, to see Antwerp, my father's native land. From Flanders I continued my journey to the United Provinces, where my inclination to travel increased on account of the concourse of so many strangers, who came to Amsterdam from all parts of the world.

After having seen all that was most important throughout the Seventeen Provinces, I entered Germany, and having arrived at Nuremburg by Frankfort and Augsburg, the noise of the armies which were marching to Bohemia to retake Prague made me desire to go to the seat of war, and acquire something of the art, which would be of service to me in the course of my travels. I was but

[1] From Vol. I, *Persian Travels.* Paris 1676.

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one day's distance from Nuremburg when I met a colonel of cavalry, named Hans Brener, son of Philip Brener, Governor of Vienna, who engaged me to follow him into Bohemia, being glad to have a young Frenchman with him. My intention is not to speak here of what happened at the battle of Prague; the discourse would be long, and the history of this century speaks sufficiently of it. Some years afterwards I followed this colonel to Vienna. He presented me to the Governor of Raab, his uncle, to whom belonged the title of Viceroy of Hungary. This Governor received me into his house to be one of his pages. It is usual to serve in this position in Germany up to the age of twenty-five years, and one never quits the service without being prepared to carry arms, and without obtaining a Cornetcy or an Ensign's Commission. I had been four and a half years with the Viceroy when the Prince of Mantua arrived at Vienna to urge the Emperor to the designs which the Duke his father desired, but he was unable to accomplish anything; and even the negotiation of M. de Sabran, Ambassador of the King to his Imperial Majesty, for the arrangement of the investiture which was the subject of his mission, was also fruitless. During the years I spent in Hungary I had time to learn something of war, having been with the master whom I served on many noteworthy occasions. But I shall say nothing of the affairs which we had with the Turks, because so many have treated of the subject, and because they have nothing to do with the subject of my travels. The Viceroy had espoused, on his second marriage, a sister of Count d'Arc, Prime Minister of State of the Duke of Mantua, and Envoy at Vienna with the Prince his son, and this Count was a relative of the Empress, who was of the House of Gonzague. The Count having come to see the Viceroy, I was ordered to attend on him during his sojourn at Javarin, and when about to depart he told the Viceroy that the Prince of Mantua having no one with him who knew the language, he would please him by permitting me to attend on him while he remained at the Emperor's court. The thing was readily granted to the Count d'Arc, who took me to Vienna, and as I had the good fortune to be not unpleasing to the Prince, he assured me on his departure that he would be much pleased to see me at Mantua, where, as he believed the war would end satisfactorily, he would remember the service which I had done him. This was sufficient to arouse in me straightway a desire to pass into Italy, and continue the travels which I meditated.

I sought to obtain the Viceroy's approval of my design, who at

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first consented with reluctance, but at length, pleased with my service, granted me permission with a good grace, and presented me, according to custom, with a sword, a horse, and a pair of pistols, adding to them a very handsome gift of a purse full of ducats. M. de Sabran then left for Venice, and as he wished to have in his company a Frenchman who knew how to speak German, I availed myself of the opportunity, and we reached Venice in eight days. M. le Comte d'Avaux was then Ambassador of France to the Most Serene Republic, and he gave a grand reception to M. de Sabran, who visited him by order of the King. As the Venetians had no less an interest in the war of Mantua than the House of Gonzague, the Republic received M. de Sabran very well, and presented him with eight great basins of confections, upon one of which there was a heavy golden chain, which he placed on his neck for a moment, and then in his pocket. M. le Duc de Rohan was then in Venice with his family, and two of these basins having been distributed to those present in the hall, M. de Sabran directed me to convey the six others, on his account, to Mademoiselle de Rohan, who received them with a very good grace. During some days which we remained at Venice I studied with pleasure this town, so celebrated and so unique among all others in the universe; and as it has many things in common with Amsterdam—the site, the size, the splendour, the commerce, and the concourse of strangers—it contributed no less to increase the desire which I had of becoming thoroughly acquainted with Europe and Asia.

From Venice I went to Mantua with M. de Sabran, and the Prince, who testified his joy at beholding me again, gave me at first the choice of an Ensigncy or a commissson in the Artillery Regiment of the Duke his father. I accepted the latter offer, and was well pleased to be under the command of M. le Comte de Guiske, who was its Captain, and is at present Mareschal de Grammont. A long sojourn at Mantua did not agree with the desire which I had for travelling, but the Imperial army having laid siege to the town, before thinking of my departure I wished to see what would be the issue of the war. We at length compelled the Imperialists to raise the siege. This they did one Christmas Eve, and on the following day some troops were sent out to see if it was not a feint, and whether they had entirely withdrawn.

The siege did not last long, and no considerable action took place—nothing which could instruct young soldiers. I shall only say that one day eighteen men having been commanded to go to

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reconnoitre the width and depth of the ditch which the enemy had made by cutting a dyke for the defence of a small fort from whence he had driven us; and eight troopers of our company being of this number, I obtained from the Prince, with great trouble, permission to be one of these eight, he having had the goodness to say to me privately that a heavy fire would have to be faced. In short, of the eighteen of us who went out but four returned, and we having gone the length of the dyke among the reeds, as soon as we appeared on the border of the ditch the enemy fired so furious a discharge that they did not give us time to make observations. I selected in the magazine a very light cuirass, but of good material. This saved my life, having been struck by two bullets, one of which struck the left breast and the other below, the iron being indented in both places. I suffered some pain from the blow which had struck the breast, and when we went to make our report, M. le Comte de Guiske, who perceived the good quality of my cuirass, had it decorated, and retained it, so that I have not seen it since.

Some time after I obtained my discharge from the Prince, who had promised to give it to me whenever I desired, and he accompanied it with an honourable passport, by reason of which six troopers came with me to Venice, where I left them. From Venice I went to Loretto, from thence to Rome, and from Rome to Naples, from whence, retracing my steps, I spent ten or twelve days more at Rome. Afterwards I went to see Florence, Pisa, Leghorn, and Genoa, where I embarked for Marseilles. As for the remainder of Italy, I have had opportunities of seeing it on other journeys which I have made; and I say nothing of this beautiful country, nor of its fine towns, because there are plenty of people who have written about them.

From Marseilles I came to Paris, where I did not remain long, and wishing to see Poland, I entered Germany by Switzerland. After having traversed the principal cantons, I descended the Rhine in order to reach Brisac and Strasburg, then ascending by the Swabe I passed to Ulm and Augsburg to go to Munich. I saw the magnificent palace of the Dukes of Bavaria, which William V had commenced and Maximilian his son accomplished during the heat of the wars which troubled the Empire. From thence I went, for the second time, to Nuremburg and to Prague, and going from Bohemia, I entered Silesia and crossed the Oder to Breslau. From Breslau I went to Cracow, one of the largest towns of Europe, or rather one composed of three towns, and the ancient abode of the

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Kings of Poland. I then went to Warsaw, on the left bank of the Vistula, and saw the tomb of King Sigismund, which was beautiful and magnificent.

From Warsaw I returned to Breslau, and took the route to Lower Silesia, to visit one of the principal officers of the Emperor's household whom I knew very well. But at two leagues from Glogau I was turned from my intention by meeting, and the pressing invitation of, Colonel Butler, a Scotchman, who commanded a regiment of cavalry for the Emperor, and who since killed Wallenstein on account of the order which he received. His wife, who was with him, was fond of the French, and both of them having treated me with much kindness, accompanied by some presents, to induce me to remain with them, I was unable to resist such evidences of kindness. The King of Sweden at that time was invading Pomerania, and the army of the Emperor marched towards Stettin to prevent his entry. We were not more than four leagues off when we heard that the Swedes were in it. This news caused great disorders in the Imperial army, of which Tureste-Conte was the General, and out of 40,000 men, of which it was composed, he disbanded 9000 or 10,000, which compelled the remainder to withdraw themselves to Frankfort-on-the-Oder and its environs.

It was then that I heard that the Emperor was going to Ratisbone with his son, Ferdinand III, in order to have him crowned King of the Romans. I had witnessed the crowning of the Kings of Hungary and of Bohemia, and being desirous to witness this third ceremony, which should be finer than the others, I took leave of my Colonel and came quickly to Ratisbone. All took place with much magnificence, and many young gentlemen showed their skill in the tournaments. In front of the course where they tilted the ring there were two platforms. The grandest was for the Emperor and the Empress, and all the ladies of the Court; the other resembled a large shop, where were suspended many jewels of great price. They made parties of seven or eight cavaliers, who with a lance touched the object for which they wished to run; and there were some of the jewels worth 10,000 *écus* and more. He who had the good fortune to win had nothing to pay, it was the others who had competed with him who had to pay the merchant for it. The conqueror received it from the hands of the Prince of Ekemberg, First Minister of State of the Emperor, and having placed it at the end of his lance went to present it to the Empress, who would not receive it; this allowed him to offer

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it to that one of the ladies of the Court for whom he had the most esteem.

There came then to Ratisbone jewellers from different places, and one of them perished unfortunately on his arrival by an adventure so tragic that all the Court was moved to compassion. He was the only son of the richest merchant in Europe, who dwelt at Frankfort, and his father had sent him to the coronation to sell precious stones. Through fear of his being robbed on the way his father sent them by a safe means to a Jew at Ratisbone, who was his correspondent, with an order to place them in the hands of his son. This young man on his arrival at Ratisbone went to find the Jew, who told him that he had received a small box full of precious stones, and that he might take possession of them whenever he wished. At the same time he invited him to drink, and took him to the house of the Dauphin on the quay at Ratisbone, where they enjoyed themselves till one o'clock at night, when the Jew, taking the young man by a street where there were no shops, and where there were no passers, stabbed him in the stomach eight or ten times with a knife, and left him lying on the pavement. The miserable Jew thought that he would escape by writing to the jeweller in Frankfort that he had handed over the small box to his son, and that no one would suspect him of the murder. But by God's will, on the very same evening the crime was discovered, the guilty one was in the hands of justice.

The matter was discovered thus. Immediately after this cruel murder a herald of the Emperor, named Jean Marie, passing through this obscure street, struck his feet against the body of this young man, who still breathed, and fell on top of him. Feeling some moisture on his hand, he at first thought that he was a drunken man who had been ill and was unable to stand. But on second thoughts it occurred to him that it might be a wounded man. He ran for a light to an office of the Marshal at the corner of the street. The Marshal and his companions took a lantern, and on arriving at the place with the herald saw the melancholy spectacle of a young man bathed in his own blood, who had but few moments to live. The Marshal would not allow them to carry him to his office, in order not to embarrass justice, and they found nowhere more suitable for prompt aid than the house of the Dauphin, which was not far off. He was at once taken there, and as soon as they had washed his face, which was covered with blood and dust, the mother and daughter of the house at once recognised him as the person who came to drink there with

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the Jew. He expired a moment afterwards, without having been able to speak or to give any sign of consciousness, and it was in this way that they discovered the murderer, who was taken in his own house the same evening, and straightway confessed his crime. The enormity of the deed justified that the guilty one should be condemned to a very severe sentence, and the judgment provided that he should be hung to a gallows, head downwards, between two large dogs, suspended close to him, so that in their rage they should eat out his vitals, and so make him suffer more than one death by the protraction of the torment. It is the sentence provided by the Imperial law for a Jew who has killed a Christian, and the method of this assassination had about it something more horrible than ordinary murders. However, the Jews of Ratisbone made such large presents to the Empress and to the two Princesses that they obtained an alteration in the sentence, and the culprit was condemned to a shorter execution, but which was not less rigorous. He was torn with hot irons in various parts of the body and in different quarters of the town, and as the pincers tore out the flesh molten lead was poured into the openings, after which he was taken outside Ratisbone and broken on the wheel at the place destined for the execution.

The coronation ceremony having been accomplished, I heard that the Empress was sending the Sieur Smit as Resident to the Porte of the Grand Seigneur. From the information which my friends gave me I hoped that he would be gracious enough to allow me to accompany him. I was unwilling to be a cause of expense to him, and I had, in order to make the voyage, a sufficient number of ducats, which I had saved while I served under Colonel Butler, who showed me much affection. I was about to leave Ratisbone when Father Joseph, who was in the service of the King, and who had known me at Paris, proposed to me to accompany M. Bachelier, whom his Majesty was sending to the Duke of Mantua, or to accompany M. l'Abbe de Chapes, brother of the late M. le Mareschal d'Aumont, and M. de St. Liebau in the voyage which they had designed to make to Constantinople and even to Palestine. I liked this latter proposition, having no intention to return to Italy, and wishing to see new countries. Without hesitating about the selection, I told Father Joseph how indebted I was to him for the offer which he made me, and I joined these two latter gentlemen, from whom I did not part till they were about to leave Constantinople for Syria. Before quitting Germany these gentlemen desired to see the court of

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Saxony, where we arrived in a short time. You pass through Freiburg on this route, a small town, but well worthy of being seen, because it contains the tombs of the Electors, which, whether as regards material or form, are the finest in Europe. From thence we went to see the splendid Castle of Augustburg, which is on a high mountain, wherein there are many remarkable things. There is a hall which, for sole decoration from top to bottom, has a multitude of horns of all kinds of animals hung on the walls, and you see the head of a hare with two small horns, which was sent to the Elector as a great curiosity by the King of Denmark. There is in one of the courts of this castle a tree of such enormous size, and the branches of which are so extended, that one can place underneath it a great number of tables. I did not count them, but the concierge told us that there were as many as there are days in the year. That which makes this tree more wonderful is that it is a birch, which it is rare to see attain to such a size. There is also in this castle a well so deep that one cannot draw water from it in less than half an hour, and considering the altitude of the place, one cannot sufficiently admire the boldness of the designer.

All Germany is so well known that I shall not delay to describe Dresden, which is the residence of the Elector. I shall merely say that the town is not large, but that it is very beautiful and well fortified, and that the Elbe, over which there is a fine stone bridge, separates the old and the new towns. The palace of the Elector is one of the largest and most beautiful in Germany, but it lacks an open space in front, and its principal gate is at the bottom of a *cul de sac*. The treasure-rooms,[1] to the number of sixteen, are open to all strangers of distinction; and there are catalogues, both in German and in other languages, of all that is beautiful and rare in each. MM. l'Abbe de Chapes and de Saint Liebau were very well received by the Elector—father of him who reigns to-day; he kept them to supper, and treated them with much kindness. A grand buffet had been arranged this evening, upon which all the pieces were of a perfectly beautiful and shining stone, which was obtained in the silver mines of Saxony, and on a lower shelf there were several goblets of silver gilt of different sizes. The Elector, wishing to give the health of the King to these gentlemen, allowed them to select of these goblets the one from which they wished to drink, on condition of drinking it full, according to the custom of the country. M. l'Abbe de Chapes caused one to be brought which did not appear to

[1] The famous green vaults.

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be large, and M. de Saint Liebau asked for another which held a little more. But l'Abbe de Chapes was much surprised when, having taken the goblet which he had chosen, it expanded in his hands when he touched a spring, like a tulip which opens to the sun, and it became forthwith a large cup capable of containing nearly a pint. He was not forced to drink it full, and the Elector forgave him, contenting himself with a laugh at his surprise.

From Dresden we went to Prague, and it was for the third time that I saw this grand and beautiful town, or, if you wish it, these three towns, separated by the Molde, which falls into the Elbe 5 or 6 leagues below. Having traversed Bohemia through the middle, and touched an angle of Moravia, we entered Austria, and came to Vienna, intending to embark at once, the cold beginning to make itself already felt. These gentlemen confiding on me the arrangements of the journey, I went to ask the Governor of Vienna to write in their favour to the Viceroy of Hungary, his brother, to give us necessary passports; this he granted with a good grace, and he also gave two boats to these gentlemen, one for themselves, which had a good room, and the other for the kitchen. We remained one day at Presburg, to see the great church and a quantity of relics which they had to show there, and from thence we descended to Altemburg.

Altemburg is a town and county which belong to Comte d'Arach. It was the property of a Queen of Hungary, who presented it when dying to a noble of her court, on condition that he and his successors should always keep in this castle a certain number of peacocks, which this Queen was very fond of; and that if any one omitted to do so the county should revert to the throne.

We arrived at *Sighet* after midday, and immediately I took a small boat and went quickly to Raab, formerly called Javarin, which is only two hours distant. I gave the Viceroy the letter which his brother had given me, and I informed him of the arrival of MM. le Chapes and de Saint Liebau. As I had had the honour of being some years in his service, he told me he was glad to see me again, and that he would do everything to satisfy those whom his brother recommended. On the following day he ordered 300 cavalry and two carriages to go and bring them to Javarin. He received them very politely, and during the sojourn which they made the principal officers sought to make them pass the time agreeably. It was necessary to wait eight or ten days to receive the reply of the *Bacha* of Buda, a message having been sent to the Governor of *Comorre* to ascertain if he would grant

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a passage to two French gentlemen and their suite. In order to facilitate the matter they were represented to be relatives of M. de Cessy, Ambassador of France at the Porte, and the reply of the *Bacha* having come in the affirmative, we descended to *Comorre*, where the Governor gave us other boats. They conveyed us half way to Buda, where we found others, which, on the receipt of the notice of our departure, came from Buda to meet us. These boats are a kind of brigantines well armed and very convenient, and they make, by force of oars, much way in little time, because they are very light. It is between *Comorre* and Buda on the frontiers of the two Empires, where the Ambassadors relieve one another, which happens on both sides every six years, and in the same time the alliance is renewed, and it is necessary that the number of persons on each side shall be equal.

From Vienna to Javarin we were three days on the water, because the Danube makes a great circuit, though one can make the land journey in two hours. From Javarin one goes to *Comorre*, and from *Comorre* we descended to Buda in less than two days. The journey from Raab to Buda is seldom taken by land, because the country being on the frontier there are brigands on both sides whom it is dangerous to meet. In the fine season one can go from Buda to Belgrade in less than eight days ; but we took eight, the cold and snow delaying our progress. We took an equal time up to Constantinople, where we did not arrive till the 29th day after our departure from Belgrade, because the days were short and the way bad.

It is the custom in Hungary, especially on routes little frequented by strangers, to take no money from travellers ; a householder lodges them and treats them well, and the mayor of the place repays him at the end of the year out of the public revenue for the expense which he has incurred. But it should be remembered that they are not charged with a great number of travellers, and that in Hungary, which is one of the best countries in Europe, food is so cheap that we did not expend at Belgrade for fourteen mouths as much as two crowns a day.

Buda is on the right of the Danube, distant from the river about half an hour. As soon as the *Bacha* had news of our arrival he sent his equerry with horses led by well-dressed slaves for our conduct to the town. Among these slaves were two Parisians, and our gentlemen knowing their families, offered unavailingly up to 800 crowns for their ransom.

We remained twelve days at Buda before we could have audience

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of the *Bacha*, who was unwell. He sent us our food daily—a sheep, fowl, butter, rice, and bread, with two *sequins* for other fresh supplies; and on the day upon which he granted an audience to MM. de Chapes and de Saint Liebau, they presented him with a watch, the case of which was covered with diamonds. The *Bacha* is a man of good figure and pleasing countenance; he received them with much civility, and on their departure for Belgrade, which was on the fourteenth day of their arrival at Buda, he sent them six chariots with two soldiers to conduct them, and an order to defray their expenditure for food throughout, of which they did not wish to avail themselves.

On our arrival at Belgrade we entered an old *caravansarái*, but four of the principal merchants of Ragusa, who do a large trade in this place, took us from this poor inn to convey us to the house of a good citizen. The Ragusans carry cloth to Belgrade, and take wax in exchange, and quicksilver, which they obtain from Upper Hungary and from Transylvania.

If we had reason to congratulate ourselves on the good reception of the *Bacha* of Buda, we had also reason to complain of the rude manner which the *Sangiac* of Belgrade displayed towards us, as he compelled us to contest for fifteen or sixteen days the ridiculous demand that he at first made of 200 ducats per head. The merchants of Ragusa went to speak to him, and all they could obtain was that we should each give him fifty ducats. The *Sangiac* continuing to act badly, I went to see him with our interpreter, and at first spoke to him with civility. But seeing that he paid no attention to me, and that it was necessary to address him otherwise, I intimated so well by threats that I would send an express to the Porte to complain of his rude conduct towards two gentlemen, relatives of the French Ambassador, that notwithstanding the 200 ducats which he demanded *per* head, he contented himself with fifty for all, which were forthwith given to him. During this fifteen days' detention we had the small consolation of enjoying good fare. The bread, the wine, and the meat are all excellent and cheap in this place; and Belgrade being built on a point of land where two great rivers—the Danube and Save—join, so large a quantity of large pike and fine carp were caught that we only used the livers and milts, giving the fish to the poor. Two Jesuit Fathers, chaplains of the merchants of Ragusa, contributed much to dissipate the annoyance which these gentlemen experienced from the delay of their journey, caused by the injustice of the *Sangiac*. The merchants, too, did not limit

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themselves to the good services which they rendered on several occasions, they added a magnificent banquet to which they invited them on Christmas Eve, after which they went to the midnight mass, accompanied by music and instruments, with which they were pleased.

We took saddle horses and chariots at Belgrade for Adrianople, each selecting the mode of conveyance he considered most comfortable. As for me, I preferred a chariot, wherein, covering myself with straw, my body being clad in a good sheep skin, I did not feel the cold. We came to Sophia, a large and populous town, the capital of the old Bulgarians, and the residence of the *Bacha* de *Romeli*.[1] You see there a beautiful mosque, which was once a Christian church, with a tower so artfully made that three persons can ascend it at the same time without seeing one another.

From Sophia we came to Philippopolis, and between this last town and Adrianople we met two well-mounted companies of Tartars. They come to make raids on this side of the Danube, and indeed farther into the portion of Hungary which belongs to the house of Austria. As soon as they saw us they hastily ranged themselves in two lines on either side, to allow us to pass through them, designing, doubtless, to attack us, being without hope of vanquishing us except by numbers and surprise. They had for sole arms a poor sort of sabre, and we on our side had wherewithal to prevent their approach, each having a musket and a pair of pistols, and the majority good sporting guns also. For fear they should come to attack us if we neglected to defend ourselves, we stood our ground and made a barricade of our chariots. However, our two guards with our interpreter were sent to the chief of these Tartars to tell him that we should not move till they decamped, and that being soldiers like them, they would obtain nothing from us. The chief replied that he had only drawn up his men in order to honour us, and that, as we wished it, they would pass on if we gave them something to buy tobacco. We speedily satisfied them; and our interpreter having taken them four *sequins*, they drew off and left our passage open.

We reached Adrianople on the twenty-third day after our departure from Belgrade, and we hired other horses and chariots for Constantinople. Adrianople derives its name from the Emperor Adrian, who enlarged and embellished it; it was previously called *Oreste*. It is pleasantly situated at the mouths of three rivers,

[1] Pasha of Roumelia.

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which debouch together in the Archipelago. The old town is not very large, but the Turks have added splendid suburbs, and it is one of the residences of the Ottoman Emperors, who often come there, whether called by business or for the pleasure of the chase, especially of ducks and herons. When these three rivers overflow the marshes and neighbouring fields they make, as it were, a sea, which one sees covered by a multitude of these birds, as also cranes and wild geese, and the Grand Seigneur takes them with the eagle and the falcon, which are very well trained to this kind of sport.

On the fifth day after our departure from Adrianople, and the fifty-second after we left Vienna, we arrived happily at Constantinople, at eight o'clock in the morning. Having traversed the town and passed to Galata, they led us to the house of the French Ambassador, which we did not leave till after dinner, and in the evening we went to take possession of a house belonging to a Greek close to that of the Ambassador. MM. de Chapes and de St. Liebau remained two months at Constantinople, where they expended a large sum, always keeping open house. We made during the winter a small trip to the Dardanelles and the ruins of Troy, where we only saw stones, which was assuredly not worth the trouble of going there.

Curiosity to see a room furnished in the French fashion, of which they gave us a great account, led us to go to the *serrail* at Scutari. Two eunuchs who guarded it made much fuss about permitting us to enter, for which we had to pay well, and we saw nothing but a bed after our pattern, of rich material, with the chairs and carpets, which constituted the whole lot. On another day we took boats with our friends to go to Chalcedonia, which is on the margin of the sea. There is a very ancient church there, in which one sees the council hall, with the original chairs still preserved. It is to-day a monastery, and two bishops who were there, after having conducted us all through, civilly presented us with a collation.

We then went to see Pompey's Pillar, at the mouth of the Black Sea, and going from *serrail* to *serrail*, which are the royal houses of the Grand Seigneur, we occupied eight days upon this pleasant outing. But one might do it in two, if content to see the pillar without stopping anywhere. We met in one of these *serrails* an old French eunuch, who was delighted to see us, and gave us all possible good cheer.

I shall make here a remark about the Black Sea canal. There

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is no strait of the sea without a current, and this has two opposite ones. That from the European side carries vessels towards the Black Sea, and that which is from the Asiatic side brings them back towards the Mediterranean. Thus in the trip which one often makes from Constantinople to the mouth of the canal, both in going and returning you find the stream favourable, and you have but to cross from one bank to the other.

The rigour of winter being over, MM. de Chapes and de St. Liebau continued their journey, and accompanied by two guards, engaged two brigantines for the journey to Alexandretta. I have since heard that they saw all that is most remarkable in the Archipelago and along the coasts of Natalie; that from Alexandretta they went to Aleppo, from thence to the Euphrates, and that, retracing their steps to Aleppo, they went to Damascus, and from thence to Jerusalem.

As for me, having another journey in view, and wishing to see Persia, I remained at Constantinople, awaiting a caravan which I was encouraged to hope for from one month to another. But without that it often happened that eight or ten merchants, joining together, made the journey in safety to Ispahan. My ignorance was the reason for my making a much longer stay at Constantinople than I had contemplated. I remained eleven months, during which time I saw M. de Marcheville arrive, who came to relieve M. de Cesi. He had an audience of the Grand Seigneur as Ambassador of France, but M. de Cesi, who did not wish to retire, intrigued so well with the grand *Vizir* that he remained Ambassador at the Porte, while M. de Marcheville was compelled to return to France. I was in his *cortége* on the day when he had audience with his Highness, as I have stated in my account of the *Serraglio*.

At length, after eleven months delay, a well-equipped and numerous caravan left Constantinople for Ispahan, and I joined it on the road, for my first journey to Asia.[1] It has been followed by five others, and I have thus had time to observe the nature of the country well, and the genius of the populations. I have pushed the three last beyond the Ganges and to the island of Java; and during the space of forty years I have traversed more than 60,000 leagues by land, only having once returned from Asia to Europe by sea. Thus I have seen at my leisure in my six journeys, and by

[1] M. Joret, by means of the incident about the Ambassadors just referred to, has fixed this date as January or February 1631. Those who give it as 1636 are therefore clearly in the wrong.

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different routes, the whole of Turkey, all Persia, and all India, and especially the famous mines of diamonds, where no European had been before me.[1] It is of these three grand Empires that I propose to give a full and exact account, and I shall commence with the different routes which one may take to go from Paris to Persia.

[1] As elsewhere pointed out in the following pages, there were European visitors before Tavernier's time, as Cæsar Frederick before 1570, Methold before 1622, and also some others.

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AVIS

TO THE READER

It is almost impossible in a work of this sort, containing so many proper names of officers, Princes, towns, mountains, and rivers, that many faults should not occur; because these names being entirely unknown to us, and little conformable to our pronunciation and manner of writing, it need not be wondered at if the printer has often erred. But among other faults one important one has been detected, which it is desirable to remove and to notify, that in place of *coste*, which means nothing, *cosse* should be read throughout, which in the language of the country means league (*lieue*) in India.

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ERRATA ET CORRIGENDA.

Page 16, note 2, *for* Assen *read* Asen.

,, 92, omit note 3.

,, 143 and 144 *n*, *for* Kurum *read* Khurram.

,, 184, note 2, *for* Cardamons *read* Cardamoms.

,, 203 and 269, *for* Augustines *read* Augustins.

,, 205, headline, *for* Mascaregnas *read* Mascarehnas.

,, 217, *for* elephants' teeth *read* tusks.

,, 250 *n* and 280 *n*, *for* Tennant *read* Tennent.

,, 251, line 2, *for* which *read* whom.

,, 288 *n*, *for* Jalmudugu *read* Jamalmudugu.

,, 326, line 6, *for* Roushenárá *read* Raushenárá.

,, 400 *n*, *for* p. 372 *n*, *read* Vol. ii, p. 129.

,, 415, last paragraph, for *Tun* read *Tonne*.

,, 416, line 26, *for* 133½ *read* 133⅓.

,, 416 and 417, for corrected values of carat and *rati*, see Index.

,, 417, note 1, *for* 1.27 *read* 0.127.

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BOOK I

Concerning routes which one may take to go from ISPAHAN to AGRA, and from AGRA to DELHI and JAHÁNÁBÁD,[1] where the Court of the GREAT MOGUL is at present; as also to the Court of the King of GOLCONDA and to that of the King of BIJAPUR,[2] and to several other places in INDIA.

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[1] Dehly and Gehanabat in the original. Sháh Jahán rebuilt Delhi, and called the new city Sháhjahánábád, which retains its form and fortifications to the present time, and is the Delhi of to-day.

[2] Visapour, in the original, was an early corruption of the name Bijapur (Vijáyapura). It is the principal town of what is now the Kaládgi District of the Bombay Presidency. An account of its buildings is given in Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture.*

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TRAVELS IN INDIA

CHAPTER I

Route from ISPAHAN *to* AGRA *by* (*way of*) GOMBROON,[1] *where particular mention is made of the navigation from* HORMUZ[2] *to* SURAT.[3]

I SHALL follow in this account of my Indian travels the same order as I have observed in that of my Persian travels, and I shall commence with the description of the routes by which one can go from ISPAHAN to DELHI and JAHÁNÁBÁD, where the GREAT MOGUL at present resides.

Although INDIA presents a frontier towards PERSIA of more than 400 leagues, extending from the ocean up to that long chain of mountains which traverses the centre of ASIA from west to east, and has been known to antiquity under the name of MOUNT TAURUS or MOUNT CAUCASUS,[4] there are, notwithstanding, not so

[1] Gomron in the original, for Gombroon, the modern Bandar Abbás, in the Persian Gulf.

[2] Ormus in the original, the modern Hormuz, more properly Hurmúz, formerly a city and kingdom near the mouth of the Persian Gulf.

[3] Surate in the original, the modern Surat, spelt Suratte in the French edition of 1713.

[4] Mount Taurus or Mount Caucasus. The former name was used by some of the ancient geographers for a supposed continuous range from west to east, through the whole of Asia, and embracing the real

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many ways for passing from PERSIA into INDIA as there are for passing from TURKEY into PERSIA, because between PERSIA and INDIA there are only sands and vast deserts where one finds no water at all. Thus, in order to go from ISPAHAN to AGRA there are but two routes to select from—one partly by land and partly by sea, by taking ship at HORMUZ; and the other altogether by land, passing through CANDAHAR. The first of these routes has been fully described up to HORMUZ towards the end of the last book of my travels in PERSIA,[1] and I have now to speak of the navigation from HORMUZ to SURAT.

Navigation in the Indian seas is not carried on at all seasons, as it is in our European seas, and it is necessary to take the proper season, outside the limits of which no one ventures to put to sea. The months of November, December, January, February, and March, are the only months in the year in which one embarks at HORMUZ for SURAT, and at SURAT for HORMUZ: with this difference, however, that one rarely leaves SURAT later than the end of February,[2] but for leaving HORMUZ one may wait till the end of March,

Taurus of Asia Minor, the Persian Elbruz, the Hindu Kush, and the Himalayas. "The boundaries of India on the north, from Ariana to the Eastern Sea, are the extremities of Taurus, to the several parts of which the natives give, besides others, the names of Paropamisus, Emodus, and Imaus (Himalaya); but the Macedonians call them Caucasus," etc. (Strabo, Bk. XV, c. i, § 11; Bohn's ed., trans. by Falconer and Hamilton, vol. iii, p. 78.)

[1] Book V, chaps. xx, xxi, xxii, p. 653 *et seq.* The second route up to Candahar is described in Book V, chap. xxiv, p. 693, *Persian Travels*, Paris edition of 1676.

[2] This indication of the periods of the monsoons is of interest. It is availed of by M. Joret, in his *J. B. Tavernier*, Paris, 1886, p. 64, as a factor in determining the dates of Tavernier's journeys, regarding which his direct statements are so few, vague, or even contradictory.

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and even till the 15th of April, because then the western wind which brings the rains to INDIA begins to blow. During the first four months a wind from the north-east prevails with which one may sail from SURAT to HORMUZ in fifteen or twenty days; afterwards, veering by degrees to the north, it serves equally the vessels which go to SURAT and those which are coming from it, and during this period the merchants generally reckon on spending thirty or thirty-five days at sea; but when you wish to go from HORMUZ to SURAT in fourteen or fifteen days, you must embark in the month of March or at the beginning of April, because then you have the western wind astern all the way.

Vessels leaving HORMUZ steer for MUSCAT,[1] on the coast of ARABIA, in order not to approach too near to that of PERSIA, and to give it a wide berth. Those which are coming from SURAT do the same, in order to find the entrance to the gulf, but neither the one nor the other ever touch at MUSCAT, because custom dues have to be paid to the Arabian Prince who took this place from the Portuguese.

MUSCAT is a town on the sea-coast, opposite to three rocks, which render the approach to it very difficult, and it lies at the foot of a mountain upon which the Portuguese had three or four forts. It may be remarked that MUSCAT, HORMUZ, and BASSORA[2] are the three places in the East where the heat is most unbearable. Formerly the English and Dutch monopolised this navigation; but for some years past the

[1] Mascaté in the original, the modern Muscat, or more properly Măskăt, the capital of Oman, in North-East Arabia.

[2] Balsara in the original, Balsora of the *Arabian Nights*, the modern Bassora (*Basra*), in the Persian Gulf.

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Armenians, Muhammadans of INDIA, and *Banians*[1] also have vessels, upon which, however, one does not feel so safe as on those of the *Franks*,[2] because necessarily the Indians do not understand the sea so well, and have not such good pilots.

Vessels sailing for SURAT, which is the only port in the whole empire of the GREAT MOGUL, steer for DIU and POINT ST. JEAN,[3] and then anchor in the roads at SUWÁLI,[4] which is only four leagues distant from SURAT, and but two from the mouth of the river, bearing from it northwards. They carry the merchandise from one place to the other either by cart or by boat, because large vessels cannot enter the river at SURAT, until after they are unloaded, on account of the sandbanks which are at the mouth. The Dutch return after having landed their goods at SUWÁLÍ, and the English did the same, neither being permitted to enter into the SURAT river; but since, some time back, the King has granted to the latter a place to winter[5] in during the rainy season.

SURAT is a city of moderate size, with a poor fortress, which you must pass, whether approaching it by water or by land. It has four towers at its four

[1] *Banianes* in the original, see Book III, chap. iii, and Index.

[2] Francs in the original, and Franguis on p. 59, names in the East for all Europeans except Greeks; Pers. *Farangi*.

[3] Diu and Point St. Jean. Diu is on an island (from which fact the name is derived—*dvipa*, Sanskrit for an island) off the southern extremity of Gujarát. It occupies an important position in the history of the Portuguese, and still belongs to them. St. Jean is the port in Gujarát called Saján or Sanján, the Sindán of Arab writers, corrupted by the Portuguese into San Gens and the English into St. John's. (See Yule and Burnell, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, *s. v.* St. John's, p. 591.)

[4] Souali in original, a roadstead near the mouth of the Tápti (*op. c.*, p. 671).

[5] The term winter (*hiver*) is used by several early writers on India to indicate the rainy season, viz. June to October.

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angles; and as the walls are not terraced, the guns are placed upon scaffoldings. The Governor of the fortress merely commands the soldiers of the garrison, and possesses no authority in the city, which has its own separate Governor to receive the customs and the other revenues of the King throughout the extent of his Province. The walls of the city are of earth, and the houses of private persons are merely barns, being built of nothing but reeds, covered with cow-dung mixed with clay to fill the interstices, and to prevent those outside from seeing between the reeds that which is done inside. In the whole of SURAT there are only nine or ten well-built houses, and the *Shâh-bandar*,[1] or chief of the merchants, has two or three of them. The others belong to the Muhammadan merchants, and those of the English and Dutch are not the least fine, every president and commander taking care to keep them in repair, the cost of which they charge against the accounts of their companies. These dwellings are, nevertheless, only hired houses, the King not permitting any *Frank* to possess a house of his own, fearing that he would have that of which he might make a fortress. The Reverend Capuchin Fathers have built a very commodious one upon the model of the houses of EUROPE, with a beautiful church, and I myself furnished a large portion of the money which it cost; but the purchase had to be made under the name of a Maronite merchant of ALEPPO[2] named CHELEBI, of whom I have spoken in my account of PERSIA.

[1] *Cha-bander* in original, *Shâh-bandar*, *i.e.* Governor of the port or harbour and customs master.

[2] Alep in original, for Aleppo, described Book II, cap. ii, p. 134, of the *Persian Travels*, Paris, 1876.

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CHAPTER II

Concerning the Customs, the Money, the Exchange, the Weights, and the Measures of INDIA.

IN order to avoid repetition, which one cannot escape in the course of a long journey, it is desirable to make the reader acquainted from the first with the practice in INDIA in reference to customs, money, exchange, measures, and weights.

As soon as merchandise is landed at SURAT it has to be taken to the custom-house, which adjoins the fort. They are very strict and search persons with great care. Private individuals pay as much as 4 and 5 per cent duty on all their goods; but as for the English Company and the Dutch Company, they pay less. But I believe likewise that, taking into account what it costs them in deputations and in presents, which they are obliged to make every year at court, the goods cost them scarcely less than they do private persons.

Gold and silver pay 2 per cent, and as soon as they have been counted at the custom-house the Mintmaster[1] comes to take them, and coins them into money of the

[1] The Mintmaster was called *Darogha* (of the mint); the assays were made by the *Sairafi;* other officials in the mints were the *Amin*, who was a kind of spy on the others; the *Mushrif*, to keep the accounts, etc. (See *Áín-i-Akbári*, Blochmann's transl., vol. i, p. 18.)

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country, which he hands over to you, in proportion to the amount and standard of your silver. You settle with him, according to the nature of the amount, a day when he is to give the new coins, and for as many days as he delays to do so beyond the term agreed upon he pays interest in proportion to the silver which he has received. The Indians are cunning and exacting in reference to coin and payments; for when money has been coined for three or four years it has to lose ½ per cent, and it continues in the same proportion according to age, not being able, they say, to pass through so many hands without some diminution.

You may carry all sorts of silver into the Empire of the GREAT MOGUL, because there is a mint in each of the frontier towns, where it has to be refined to the highest standard,[1] as is all the gold and silver in INDIA, by order of the King, and it is coined into money of the country. Bar silver, or old silver plate which has been bought without payment for the workmanship, is that which has the least to lose, for on coined silver one cannot avoid the loss on coinage. Sales are in general conditional on payment being made in money coined during the current year; and if one pays in old pieces it is necessary to submit to loss, according to the time they have been coined, as I have said above. In all places at a distance from towns, where the common people do not understand silver well, and where there are no Changers, they will not receive a piece of silver till they put it into the fire to ascertain

[1] The method of assaying which was practised in India is described in the *Áín-i-Akbári*, and upon it there are some important remarks and explanatory notes to be found in Percy's *Metallurgy of Gold and Silver*

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if it is good; and this is practised especially at the river crossings.[1] As their boats are made of osiers, covered only with oxhide, and are consequently very light,[2] they keep them in the woods, and will not take them on their shoulders for crossing the water before they have received their payment.

In so far as regards gold, the merchants who import it use so much cunning in order to conceal it, that but little of it comes to the knowledge of the customs' officers. They do all they can to evade paying the customs, especially as they have not so much risk to run as in the custom-houses of EUROPE. For in those of INDIA, when any one is detected in fraud, he is let off with paying double, 10 per cent instead of 5, the King comparing the venture of the merchant to a game of hazard, where one plays double or quits. However, for some time back this is somewhat changed, and it is to-day difficult to settle with the customs' officers on that condition. The King has conceded to the English Captains that they shall not be searched when they leave their vessels to come on shore; but one day an English Captain, going to TATTA,[3] one of the largest towns of INDIA, a little above SINDI,[4] which is at the mouth of the river INDUS,[5] when

[1] Only a few years ago I found the people in a remote part of the District of Raipur, in the Central Provinces, most unwilling to accept any payment in silver; they would take copper, but preferred cowries.

[2] Coracles. See Book I, chap. xviii, and Index for further references to them.

[3] Tata in the original, the modern Tatta, in Sind (see p. 17), a *taluk* in the Karáchi District.

[4] Scimdi in the original, sometimes written Simdi by Tavernier—*e.g.* p. 17—for Sindi, the Province of Sind, derived from the River Sind, *i.e.* Indus.

[5] River of Indou in the original, *i.e. Hindú* or *Sindú*—the Indus river.

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about to pass, was arrested by the customs' guards, from whom he could not defend himself, and who searched him in spite of anything he could say. They found gold on him, he having already conveyed some in sundry journeys between his vessel and the town; he was let off on payment of the ordinary duty. The Englishman, vexed by this affront, resolved to have his revenge for it, and he took it in a jocose manner. He caused a sucking-pig to be roasted, and to be placed with the grease in a china plate, covered with a napkin, and gave it to a slave to carry it with him to the town, anticipating exactly that which would happen. As he passed in front of the custom-house, where the Governor of the town, the *Sháh-bandar*, and the Master of the mint were seated in a divan, they did not fail to stop him, and, the slave still advancing with his covered plate, they said to the master that he must needs go to the custom-house, and that they should see what he carried. The more the Englishman protested that the slave carried nothing which should pay duty, the less was he believed; and after a long discussion he himself took the plate from the hands of the slave, and proceeded to carry it to the custom-house. The Governor and the *Sháh-bandar* asked him forthwith, in a sharp tone, why he was unwilling to obey orders, and the Englishman, on his part, replying in a rage that what he carried was not liable to duty, rudely threw the plate in front of them, so that the sucking-pig and the grease soiled the whole place, and splashed on their garments. As the pig is an abomination to the Muhammadans, and since by their law they regard as defiled whatever is touched by it, it became necessary for them to change their garments,

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to remove the carpet from the divan, and to make a new structure, without daring to say anything to the Englishman, because the *Sháh-bandar* and the Master of the mint have to be particular with the Company, from which the country derives so much profit. As for the Chiefs of the Companies, both English and Dutch, and their associates, they have so much respect for them that they never search them when they come from the vessels; but they, for their part, do not attempt to convey gold in secret as the private merchants do, considering it beneath them to do so. The commerce of TATTA, which was formerly considerable, is beginning to decrease rapidly, because the entrance to the river becomes worse from day to day, and the sands which accumulate almost close the passage.

The English, seeing that they had adopted the custom of searching them, had recourse to little stratagems in order to pass the gold, and the fashion of wearing wigs having come to them from EUROPE, they bethought themselves of concealing the Jacobuses, rose nobles, and ducats in the nets of their wigs every time that they left their vessels in order to go on shore.[1] There was a merchant who desired to take into SURAT some boxes of coral without its coming to the knowledge of the customs' officers. The vessel being ready to enter the river, he had the boxes tied to the stern, and being two or three feet under the water, those who came to examine the goods on the vessel were unable to see them. Several days passed before the goods

[1] Frauds were committed on the customs regarding exports, too, as will be seen on subsequent pages. M. Thevenot also mentions that he knew people who had conveyed away, with the aid of the Dutch commander, numerous precious stones and other costly articles without paying any custom dues. (*Voyage des Indes*, Paris, 1684, p. 5.)

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were unladen, and before it became possible to convey the boxes in safety into the town without the customs' officers having wind of it. The thing was at length cleverly accomplished, but the merchant had cause to repent of it, and he found himself on the wrong side of the account; for, since the river at SURAT is always disturbed and thick, there attached itself to the coral, which had been a long time in the water, a sort of slime like a crust, and a white skin, which they had much trouble to remove, and after it was cleaned the loss to the merchant exceeded 12 per cent.

I now come to the coins which are current in INDIA throughout the territories of the GREAT MOGUL, and to all the kinds of gold and silver, which should be carried in ingots, rather than in coin, in order to secure most profit there.

In the first place it should be remarked that it is advantageous to purchase gold or silver which has been worked, in order to make it into ingots, and to cause it to be refined up to the highest standard; for, being refined, you do not pay for the carriage of the alloy which was mixed with it before, and not carrying the gold or silver in coin, you do not pay what the prince and the mint have taken for their coinage dues.

If you take coined gold, the best pieces are rose nobles,[1] old Jacobuses,[2] Albertuses,[3] and other ancient pieces, both of PORTUGAL and other countries, and all sorts of gold coins which have been coined in the last century. On all these old pieces there is always some

[1] Rose nobles: a noble was an English coin, worth 6s. 8d.

[2] Jacobus, an English coin of James I, worth about 25s.

[3] Albertuses. The Alberts Dutch dollar, a silver coin, was worth in exchange something less than the rix-dollar, or 4s. 6d.; I have failed to identify any gold coin with the above name.

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profit for the merchant. Among the good gold coins which one may carry to INDIA all the ducats of Germany, both those of princes and those of imperial towns, as also the ducats of POLAND, HUNGARY, SWEDEN, and DENMARK must be included; and all these kinds of ducats are taken at the same standard. The golden ducats of VENICE formerly passed as the best, and were each valued at four or five of our *sols*[1] more than all the others; but, since twelve years or thereabouts, it seems that they altered them, so that they are not valued now save at the same price as the others. There are still the ducats which the GRAND SEIGNEUR coins at CAIRO,[2] and those of SALEE[3] and MOROCCO,[4] but these three coins are the least valuable of all, and are generally worth four *sols* less than the others.

Throughout the Empire of the GREAT MOGUL all the gold and silver is weighed by a weight called *tola*, which amounts to 9 *deniers* 8 *grains* of our weight.[5] When one has a quantity of gold or silver to sell, the Indians have brass weights, with the King's stamp, to avoid fraud; and with these weights they weigh all the gold or silver at a time, provided it does not exceed one hundred *tolas*. For all the weights of the Changers only range from one *tola* up to one hundred, and these hundred *tolas* are equivalent in our weight to 38 *onces* 21 *deniers* 8 *grains*. As for the gold or silver which

[1] 5 sols = 4½d. (See Appendix.)

[2] Caire in the original.

[3] Salé in the original, the ancient Sala and modern Salee, on the north-west coast of Africa.

[4] Maroc in the original.

[5] *Tolla* in the original. Tola therefore = 224 French grs. = 187.5 grains Troy. The present British tola = 180 grains Troy, *i.e.* the weight of the rupee.

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is not coined, if there is much, they put it to the test, and the test having been applied, they bid for it as highly as they can, out of jealousy of one another.

As there are merchants who have sometimes up to forty and fifty thousand ducats[1] and more, the Indians weigh them with a weight which is exactly that of one hundred ducats, and also bears the King's stamp. And should it happen that the hundred ducats weigh less than this weight, they add small stones till the weights are equal, and when the whole amount is weighed you make good to the Changer the value of the weights of these same stones. But before weighing these golden coins, be they ducats or be they other coins, they place the whole in a large charcoal fire, where the pieces become red-hot, after which they put out the fire by throwing on water, and then they withdraw them. This is done for the purpose of ascertaining which of them are false, and in order to burn the wax or gum which they sometimes attach adroitly, in order that they may weigh more. But since some of the pieces are so well forged that they cannot detect them even after they have been in the fire, in order to discover such the Changers take them one after the other, to bend them, and by bending them they know if the coin is good, and they cut all those which are not. After having seen all, they cause to be refined those which they believe to be not good; and for so much of good that they have found in this refining they pay as for good ducats. Of all this gold they make coins, which they call golden rupees,[2] with the exception of

[1] 50,000 ducats at 9s. 4d. = £23,500.

[2] Golden rupees (*mohur Hin*). These were of different values; but those with which Tavernier had to do averaged, as will be seen further

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the ducats which have a face on one side; these they seldom melt, because they sell them to the merchants who come from TARTARY and the other countries of the North, as the kingdoms of BHUTÁN,[1] ASSAM,[2] and others more distant. It is of this kind of ducat that the women in these countries make their principal ornament: they hang them in their hair, and they rest on their foreheads. As for the other ducats which are without faces, they are not esteemed by the merchants of the North.

With reference to all the other gold coins, they sell many to the goldsmiths, to the gold-drawers, and in general to all those who employ gold in their work. For if they can dispose of them without making them into rupees, they do not coin them; this indeed they seldom do, except when they place the kings on the throne, in order to make *largesse* of them to the people, together with silver rupees, and in order to sell them to the Governors of Provinces who require quantities, as also to the other nobles of the kingdom, to present to the King on the day when he enters into possession of his territories. For they do not always find jewels or other things worthy to be presented to him, not only on this day, but also at the grand ceremonial, of which I shall speak elsewhere, when they weigh the King every year. They are, I say, very glad to obtain golden rupees on these occasions, and they require

on, from 14 to 14½ silver rupees in value, say 31s. 6d. to 32s. (See p. 19 *n.*)

[1] Boutan in the original. But the limits of the region referred to by Tavernier, extended far beyond those of the modern Bhután. (See Index for further references.)

[2] Assam. *Assen* in the original appears to be an unusual spelling of Assam. (See Index for further references.)

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them also in order to make presents to the courtiers, by whose interest they hope to obtain higher appointments and more considerable offices of government.

In one of my journeys I saw by an example, which I had before my eyes, wherein the virtue of these golden rupees lay. SHÁH-JAHÁN,[1] the father of AURANGZEB, who reigns at present, had given to one of the nobles of his court the government of the province of TATTA, of which SINDI is the capital town.[2] Although from the very first year of his government there were serious complaints against him of the tyranny with which he treated the people, and of his great extortions, the King allowed him to govern the Province for close on four years, after which he recalled him. All the people of TATTA rejoiced, supposing that the King had only recalled him to put him to death. But it happened quite otherwise, for he was well received by the King, who conferred upon him the government of ALLAHABAD,[3] much more considerable than that of TATTA which he had just quitted. This good reception which he received from the King arose from this, that before he arrived at AGRA he sent to him secretly as a present 50,000 golden rupees, which amount to 105,000[4] of our *livres*, and about 20,000 more golden rupees, both for the BEGUM SAHIB, who then governed the whole kingdom, and for other ladies, and for some courtiers who were able to aid him with their support. All these

[1] Cha Gehan in the original.

[2] Tatta and Sindi (see p. 10 *n.*). The chief town was known as Dewal or Diul Sindi, a name sometimes transferred in later days to Larry Bunder (Lári bandar), etc. (See *Anglo-Indian Glossary.*)

[3] Halabas in the original, elsewhere spelt Hallabas.

[4] This is wrong, as, at 21 *livres* to the golden rupee, the figure should be 1,050,000.

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courtiers are very glad to obtain in that way plenty of gold, not only because it occupies small space, and they are able to conceal it easily, but also because they hold it honourable to leave to their wives and children, at their deaths, large sums, of which the King could not have any knowledge: for, as I shall say further on, when a great noble dies the King inherits his property, and his wife only remains mistress of her jewels.

To return to the golden rupees. It should be stated that they are not current among the merchants; for although one is not worth more than 14 silver rupees, which are equal to 21 *livres* of our money, at 30 *sols* to the rupee,[1] and that these golden rupees are scarcely ever to be met with save in the houses of the nobles, still when it happens that they make any payment with them they always desire to estimate them at a silver rupee, or at least at a quarter more than they are worth, by which the merchant cannot make his profit. SHÁISTÁ KHÁN,[2] uncle of the King, to whom I sold commodities for 96,000 rupees,[3] when it came to the question of payment, asked me in what money I wished that he should make it to me, whether in gold or silver coin. Before I replied, he added that if I would believe him I would take it in golden rupees, and that he did not give this advice but under the belief that it would turn to his own advantage. I told

[1] 30 sols = 2s. 3d. = one rupee, and the *livre* therefore = 1s. 6d. (See Appendix to this volume.)

[2] Cha Est Kan in the original, Sháistá Khán, for a long time Subadár of Bengal.

[3] This was at Ahmadábád, at the end of 1652. (See Book I, chap. xix.) A second sale to Sháistá Khán took place in 1660, at Choupar (Sholápúr) in the Deccan (see p. 31); and a third at Dacca in 1666. (See Book I, chap. viii.)

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him that I would follow his advice, and he immediately ordered them to count out golden rupees to the amount which was due to me; but he claimed to give the golden rupee for $14\frac{1}{2}$ of silver,[1] although among the merchants they only pass for fourteen. I was not ignorant of that, but I thought it would answer better to receive my payment as this Prince wished to make it to me, in the hope of recompensing myself otherwise to the extent of what he wished to make me to lose, or at least of a part of it. I allowed two days to pass, after which I went to see him in order to say that I had endeavoured to dispose of these rupees for the price at which I had received them, but that I had done so unavailingly; and that accordingly, upon the payment which he had made me of 96,000 rupees, I should lose $3428\frac{3}{16}$, the golden rupee which he wished me to take at $14\frac{1}{2}$ rupees not being worth more than fourteen; whereupon he flew into a passion, and told me that he would give so many strokes of the slipper to the Dutch Changer or Broker, which he would remember (for in India they never speak of blows with a stick), believing that he was the cause of what I had come to say to him, for not having been willing to take the golden rupees at the price which he had given them to me, and that he would teach these people to understand money, and that these were all old rupees, and that they were worth $\frac{1}{16}$th of a silver rupee more than those that were made then. As I knew the humour of Asiatic princes, with whom it is useless to excite oneself, I allowed him to say all he wished, and observing that he became quieter and began to smile,

[1] If we take the gold mohur at 31s. 6d., the value of the rupee at 14 would be 2s. 3d., and at $14\frac{1}{2}$ would be 2s. 2d. (See pp. 16 *n.* and 18 *n.*)

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I asked him to permit me to bring back on the following day the amount which he had caused to be counted out to me, or that he would give me the balance of my payment which was still due, and that I would take the golden rupee at $14\frac{1}{16}$ rupees, as he had told me that it was value for so much.[1] The Prince then regarded me askance for some time without saying a word to me, and then he asked me whether I had with me that pearl which he had not been willing to buy. I replied that I had, and thereupon drew it from my bosom and gave it to him. It was a large pearl of good water, but badly shaped; this had prevented him from taking it before.

After I had given it to him, "Say no more about it," said he. "In a word, how much do you want for this pearl." I asked him 7000 rupees for it, and it is true that rather than carry it back to FRANCE I would have taken 3000. "If I give you," he replied, "5000[2] rupees for this pearl, you will be well repaid for the loss which you say you have sustained on the golden rupees. Come to-morrow and I shall pay you 5000 rupees. I desire that you should leave contented, and you shall have in addition a *khil'at*[3] and a horse." I then made him a bow, and besought him to give me a young horse, fit for work, as I had a long journey to make. I accordingly received, on the following day,

[1] In Book I, chap. xix, alluding to the same transaction, he says he received them at $14\frac{1}{8}$th rupees. M. Joret, p. 158 *n.*, has, I think, mixed up this transaction with the one which took place at Sholápúr, as mentioned on p. 18 *n.*, in the year 1660. (See also p. 31.)

[2] In the earliest edition this figure is by an obvious misprint given as 7000. In the 1679 edition it is 5000, which is adopted here.

[3] *Calaat* in the original, for *killut*, properly *khil'at*, Hin., a robe of honour.

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as he had promised, the robe, mantle, two waistbands, and the turban, which constitute, as I have elsewhere remarked, the complete suit which these princes are accustomed to give to those whom they desire to honour. The mantle and the robe were of gold brocade, the two waistbands striped with gold and silver, the turban of cotton cloth was of fire colour striped with gold, and the horse, without a saddle, was covered by a housing of green velvet, with a small fringe of silver round it. The bridle was very narrow, and it had silver coins attached in some parts. I believe the horse had never been mounted, for as soon as it had arrived at the house of the Dutch, where I lodged on this occasion, a young man having mounted it, it began to jump in so strange a manner and to shake him so that having fallen in jumping over the roof of a hut which was in the court, the Dutchman barely escaped being killed. Having seen that this impetuous steed was not suitable for me, I returned it to SHÁISTÁ KHÁN, and telling him what had happened, I added that I believed that he did not wish me to return to my country, as he had asked me to do, in order to bring him some rarity. During my discourse he only laughed, and having ceased, he ordered them to bring the horse which his father used to ride. It was a large Persian horse, which had formerly cost 5000 *écus*[1] when young, but it was then more than twenty-eight years old.[2] They brought it, ready saddled

[1] £1125, at 4s. 6d. the *écu*.

[2] Here there are irreconcilable discrepancies between this account of the transaction and that in Book I, chap. xix, as our author gives the original cost of the horse there at upwards of 3000 *écus*, and states that he sold it for 400 rupees, as he did not require it for his journey, to a Frenchman, whom he at the same time placed in Sháistá Khán's service.

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and bridled, and the Prince desired me to mount it in his presence. It still had as good paces as any horse I had ever seen, and when I was mounted, he said, "Well, are you content? He will not give you a fall." I thanked him, and at the same time took my leave of him; and the following day, before my departure, he sent me a large basketful of apples. It was one of six which SHÁH JAHÁN had sent him, and which had come from the kingdom of KASHMIR,[1] and there was also in the basket a large Persian melon. All taken together might be value for 100 rupees, and I presented it to the wife of the Dutch Commander. As for the horse, I took it to GOLCONDA, where I sold it for 500 rupees, old as it was, because it was still able to render good service.

To return to the discourse on coins, I shall add to what I have already said of the gold pieces, that it does not do to carry to India neither Louis d'or, Spanish nor Italian pistoles, nor other gold pieces coined of late years, because there is too much to be lost by them. The Indians, who have no knowledge of them as yet, refine all, and it is upon this refining that they make their profit. For the rest, each strives to pass his gold without the master of the customs knowing it; and when the merchant has skill sufficient to conceal it, it gains for him the value of five or six of our *sols* on every ducat.

I come to the silver coins, which it is necessary to distinguish as coins of the country and foreign coins, and I shall speak first of the latter.

The foreign silver coins which they take to INDIA

[1] Kachemir in the original.

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are German *rix dalers*[1] and Spanish *reals*.[2] The first are brought by the merchants who come from POLAND, from little TARTARY, and from the direction of MOSCOVIE; the others by those who come from CONSTANTINOPLE, SMYRNA, and ALEPPO, and the principal part by the Armenians who have sold their silks in EUROPE. All the merchants strive to pass their silver through PERSIA without being discovered, because, if the customs' officers have wind of it, it would be necessary that the silver should be carried to the masters of the mint to be coined into *abásis*[3] which is the coinage of the King, and these *abásis* on arrival in INDIA are again coined into rupees, in which there is a loss to the merchant of 10¼ per cent, both on account of the coinage and on account of the King's dues, which he must pay in PERSIA.

In order to know in a few words how one loses this 10¼ per cent between PERSIA and INDIA, and sometimes more, according to the nature of the *reals* which are generally taken to PERSIA, it is necessary to remember what I have said of the coins and exchange of PERSIA in the preceding volume.[4] I have remarked that the *real* in PERSIA passes for 13 *sháhis*,[5] which

[1] *Richedales* in the original, for *rix daler*, properly reichs thaler; according to Sir Isaac Newton's tables, most of the varieties were worth in sterling 4s. 7d. Tavernier's equivalent of 100 = 216 rupees gives, with the rupee at 2s. 3d., a value of 4s. 10¼d. As in other cases, the sterling value may have been somewhat less than the exchange value; hence the difference.

[2] *Reale* in the original, for *real*, or "piece of 8 reals" of Seville, varied from about 4s. to 4s. 10d., the rupee being taken at 2s. 3d., and the *écu* at 4s. 6d., to which latter it was on the average equal.

[3] *Abassis* in the original, for *'abásis* = from 1s. 5d. to 1s. 6d.

[4] *Persian Travels*, Paris edition, 1676, p. 120.

[5] *Chaez* in the original, for *sháhi*, Pers. = 4d. to 4½d. At present about 2⅛d. only.

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are equal to $3\frac{1}{4}$ *abásis*, and that sometimes, when silver is scarce, they give half a *sháhi* more; that the *abási* is worth 4 *sháhis*, and the *toman*[1] 50 *abásis* or 200 *sháhis*. Thus, the *real* passing for 13 *sháhis*, you receive $6\frac{1}{2}$ *tomans* for 100 *reals*. If you take $6\frac{1}{2}$ *tomans* to INDIA you receive for each *toman* $29\frac{1}{2}$ rupees, and, consequently, for $6\frac{1}{2}$ *tomans* $191\frac{3}{4}$ rupees. But if you take to INDIA Sevillian *reals*, of which I shall speak further on, for 100 you receive from 213 to 215 rupees; and for Mexicans for 100 you receive only 212. When, then, for the 100 *reals* you receive only 212 rupees, you gain on these 100 *reals* $10\frac{1}{4}$ *reals*, and on the Sevillians you make a profit up to 11 per cent.

It should then be remarked that there are three or four kinds of Spanish *real*, and that they give for 100, according to their standard, from 208 up to 214 and 215 rupees. The best of all are the Sevillians, and when they are good weight you receive for 100, 213 rupees, and at certain times up to 215, according to whether silver is scarce or plentiful.

The Spanish *real* should weigh 3 *gros*[2] and $7\frac{1}{2}$

[1] *Toman.* In Fryer's time (1677) = £3 : 6 : 8. P. Della Valle's estimate, sixty years earlier, was about £4 : 10s.; Sir T. Herbert's valuation, £3 : 8 : 4; at present only worth 7s. 6d. (Yule and Burnell, *Anglo-Indian Glossary.*) Fifty *abásis*, as above, equal £3 : 10s. to £3 : 15s. Forty-six *livres* and $1\frac{1}{5}$ *denier* (at 1s. 6d.), the equivalent given by Tavernier in Book III, chap. xxix = £3 : 9s., while $29\frac{1}{2}$ rupees at 2s. 3d. = £3 : 6 : $6\frac{1}{2}$ only, and 15 *écus* at 4s. 6d. = £3 : 7 : 6. But Tavernier, in his account of Persian coins, expressly says that the value given in *livres* is the most exact. (See *Persian Travels*, p. 122, Paris edition of 1676.)

[2] The *gros* = 60.285 grains Troy, and the French *grain* = .837 grs. Troy ∴ 3 *gros* $7\frac{1}{2}$ *grs.* = 187 grains Troy. The weight of the *piastre*, or Seville piece of eight, was 17 dw. 12 grs., and that of two rupees, both, according to Sir Isaac Newton, = 14 dw. 20 grs., the difference being, therefore, 2 dw. 16 grs. or 64 grs.; I therefore conclude that the

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grains more than 2 rupees, but the silver of the rupees is much better, for the rupee is of the standard of 11 *deniers* and 14 *grains*, and the Sevillian *real*, like our white *écu*, is of the standard of only 11 *deniers*. The Mexican *real* is of but 10 *deniers* and 21 *grains*. For the Spanish *real* which weighs 73 *vals* you receive 4½ *mahmúdis*, and a *mahmúdi* is worth 20 *paisá*, and thus for the Spanish *real* you receive 90 *paisá*, but they must be good,[1] and, as I have said, weighing 73 *vals*; 81 *vals*[2] making an ounce, and the *val* being of 7 *deniers* (standard).

As for the German *rix dalers*, as they are heavier than the *reals*, you give for 100 up to 116[3] rupees; upon which it should be remarked that, in giving for the 100 *reals* and the 100 *rix dalers* up to 215 and 216 rupees, it appears as if every rupee should consequently be worth less than 30 *sols*. But, on the other hand, if the merchant counts the cost of carriage of the silver

3 *gros* above must either be a misprint for 1, or that the value given to the *gros* is three times too great; however the 62⅓ grs. so deduced as the difference is slightly less than the 64 grs. deduced from Sir Isaac Newton. The absolute weight of the *real* is given by Tavernier at 73 *vals*, or say 438 grs. Troy; and the weight of two rupees, according to him also, was 18 *deniers* 2 *grs.* = 454 French *grs.* = 380 Troy grs., and the difference = 58 grs., also too little.

[1] *Pecha* in the original, for *paisá*. Taking the *paisá* at .54 of a penny (see Appendix), 90 of them would be equal to 4s. o½d., *i.e.* the value of a Spanish *real*; but this is too low, and therefore these *paisás* must have been worth .6 of a penny, or "*good!*" as Tavernier remarks.

[2] *Val.* The French "*once*," being equal to 482.312 grs. Troy, would give a value of nearly 5.95 grs. to the *val*. The *tola* is said, on p. 34, to be = 32 *vals*, and therefore the *val* = 7 French *grs.* = 5.86 grs. Troy. Thevenot gives the value at 3 *gongy* (*ghúnchi*), and this with the *ghúnchi* at 1.79 grs. = 5.37 grs. Troy. See Appendix to this volume.

[3] This must be a misprint for 216.

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and the duties, he will find that each rupee costs him more. All these *reals* and *rix dalers* are weighed by the 100, and when the weight is short they add small stones as when they weigh gold, as I shall presently relate. But, in order that the merchant obtains value he must take care that all the *reals* of MEXICO and the Sevillians[1] weigh 21 *deniers* and 8 *grains*, *i.e.* 512 *grains*; and as for our white *écu*,[2] it ought to weigh 21 *deniers* and 3 *grains*, which are equal to 509 *grains*.[3]

I pass on to the coins of the country. The Indians have for their silver money the rupee, the half, the quarter, the eighth, and the sixteenth. The weight of the rupee is 9 *deniers* and 1 *grain*, and the standard of the silver 11 *deniers* and 14 *grains*. They have also a silver coin which they call *mahmúdi*,[4] but it is only current in SURAT and in the province of GUJARÁT.[5]

The small coin of INDIA is of copper, and is called *paisá*, which is worth about two of our *liards*. There

[1] The *piastre*, or Seville piece of eight, weighed, according to Sir Isaac Newton, 17 dw. 12 gr. = 420 grs. Troy, and its sterling value in silver was 54d. = 4s. 6d.

[2] The old *écu* of France, of 60 *sols Tournois*, weighed also, according to Sir Isaac Newton, 17 dw. 12 gr. = 420 grs. Troy, and its sterling value was also 4s. 6d.

[3] The 509 grs. of Tavernier is a misprint for 507; it is repeated in the edition of 1713. The equivalent of 507 French grains is 424.5 Troy grains, or 4.5 grs. more than Sir Isaac Newton's figure in preceding note.

[4] *Mamoudi* in the original, for *mahmúdi* = 20 *paisá*, or two-fifths of a rupee .·. = 10.8d., the rupee being 2s. 3d. Other relations given by our author in his account of Persian money give a less value for the *mahmúdi*, namely, one-sixteenth of the Venetian *sequin*, and one-eighth of the Spanish dollar, or 7d. and 6½d. The value as deduced from the *abásí* would seem, however, to be the mean of these, or from 8½d. to 9d. nearly. Several writers give to the Surat *mahmúdi* a value of one shilling. It was subject to constant variation.

[5] Guzerate in the original.

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are some of them of a half *paisá*, of two *paisá*, and of four. According to the province you are in, you receive for the silver rupee more or fewer of these *paisá*. On my last journey the rupee at SURAT was at 49 *paisá*, but there are times when it is worth 50, and others when it falls to 46.[1] At AGRA and at JAHÁNÁBÁD it is worth 55 and 56 *paisá*, and the reason of that is, that the nearer you approach to the copper mines[2] the more *paisá* you receive for the rupee. As for the *mahmúdi*, it is always at 20 *paisá*. There are still two other kinds of small money in the empire of the GREAT MOGUL: these are small bitter almonds and shells. In the province of GUJARÁT alone they use as small change these bitter almonds, which they bring from PERSIA, as I have remarked in the first part of my history. They grow in dry and arid places between rocks, and the tree which produces them closely resembles our broom. They call these almonds *badám*,[3] and they are so bitter that colocynth is not more so, and there is no need for fearing that children will amuse themselves by eating them. They sometimes give 35, sometimes 40, of them for the *paisá*.[4]

The other small money consists of shells called cowries, which have the edges inverted, and they are

[1] Fifty *paisá* at .54d. (see p. 25) = 2s. 3d. Thevenot, although he says that the rupee = 29-30 sols, adds that it equalled 32½ to 33½ *paisá* only. (*Voyages*, Paris, 1684, p. 52.)

[2] There is no further indication as to the position of these copper mines; probably they were those now known at Singhána and other localities in Rajputana. Full accounts of the ancient mines there will be found in the *Economic Geology of India*, p. 259.

[3] Baden in the original, for *badám* (Pers. and Hin.), fruit of *Amygdalus communis*, L., var. *amara*, D.C.

[4] Thevenot says 68; perhaps he meant a double *paisá*. (*Voyages*, p. 53.)

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not found in any other part of the world save only in the MALDIVE ISLANDS.[1] It is the principal source of revenue of the King of these Islands, for they export them to all the States of the GREAT MOGUL, to the kingdoms of BIJAPUR and GOLCONDA, and even to the islands of AMERICA,[2] to serve as money. Close to the sea they give up to 80 for the *paisá*, and that diminishes as you leave the sea, on account of carriage; so that at AGRA you receive but 50 or 55 for the *paisá*. Finally, according to the manner of counting by the Indians—

100,000 rupees make a *lekke*,[3]
100,000 *lekkes* ,, *kraur*,[4]
100,000 *kraurs* ,, *padan*,[5]
100,000 *padans* ,, *nil*.

In INDIA a village must be very small if it has not a money-changer, whom they call *Shroff*,[6] who acts as banker to make remittances of money and issue letters of exchange. As, in general, these Changers have an understanding with the Governors of Provinces, they enhance the rupee at their will for *paisá* and the *paisá*

[1] This is incorrect, as money cowries (*Cypræa moneta*) have a much wider distribution, though the Maldives have furnished a large proportion of the supply for currency. The name is *cori* in the original.

[2] A trade in these cowries to the West Coast of Africa and the West Indies still exists, I believe.

[3] *Lack* or *Lákh*, Hin.

[4] A *crore*, or more properly *karor* (Hin.), is 100 *lakhs*, or 10,000,000 (ten millions). Tavernier is wrong in stating it to be one thousand times more. However, Thevenot makes a similar statement (*Voyage*, p. 52); and it may be remarked that there are to be found similar contradictory statements, by different authorities, as to the values of our billions, trillions, etc. Comp. *Aín-i-Akbári*, Gladwin, ed. 1800, vol. ii, p. 391.

[5] The value of the *padam* is variously given as 10 to 1000 billions.

[6] For *Cheraf* in the original, *Shroff*, from Ar. *Sarráf*, a money-changer or banker.

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for these shells. All the Jews who occupy themselves with money and exchange in the empire of the GRAND SEIGNEUR pass for being very sharp; but in INDIA they would scarcely be apprentices to these Changers.[1]

[*Here follows, in the original, a table giving the letters used as numbers, which need not be reproduced.*]

They have a very inconvenient custom for payments, and I have already remarked upon it in reference to golden rupees when one makes a payment in that coin. They say that the longer time that a rupee of silver has been coined the less is it worth than those coined at the time, or which have been coined a short time, because the old ones having often passed by hand, it wears them, and they are in consequence lighter. Thus, when you make a sale, it is necessary to say that you require to be paid in SHÁH-JAHÁNI[2] rupees, *i.e.* in new silver, otherwise they will pay you in rupees coined fifteen or twenty years or more, in which there may be up to 4 per cent of loss. For, for those which have not been coined within two years they already demand $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent, or at least $\frac{1}{8}$th; and the poor people who do not know how to read the year when they coined these rupees or *paisá* are subject to be cheated, because they always deduct something from them, one *paisá* or half a *paisá* on a rupee, and on the *paisá* three or four cowries.

As for false silver, but little is met with. If by chance there should be a false rupee in a bag given by a private merchant, it pays better to cut it and to lose it than to say anything about it, because if they hear

[1] This remarkable testimony to the sharpness of the natives is applicable also at the present day.

[2] Cha Jenni in the original, *i.e.* coined in the reign of Sháh Jahán.

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of it one has to run some risk, the order of the King being that you must return the bag to him who has given it, and it goes thence from one to another until they are able to discover the false coiner, and when one is detected, for sole punishment they merely lop off a finger. If it happens that they are unable to find the false coiner, and that they pronounce him who has given the silver to be not guilty, he is freed on payment of some fine. It is this which yields such large profits to the Changers, for when one receives or when one makes any payment he shows them the silver, and they receive for their commission $\frac{1}{16}$th of a rupee per cent.

As for the silver which goes out from the *sarquet*[1] or treasury of the King, there is never anything base in it, for all that goes into it is carefully examined by the Changers of the King, and the great nobles also have their own. Before the silver goes into the treasury they throw it into a large charcoal fire, and when the rupees are red they extinguish the fire by means of water, after which they withdraw them. If any one is found which is not perfectly white, and has the slightest trace of alloy, it is immediately cut. Whenever these rupees enter the treasury they strike them with a punch, which makes a small hole without piercing; and there are some of them which have seven or eight holes of this kind, *i.e.* which have entered the treasury seven or eight times. They are all placed by the thousand in sacks with the seal of the grand treasurer, to which is added the number of years since they have been coined. It is in this that the profit consists which the treasurers

[1] *Sarquet*, possibly for *zakhira*, Hin., *i.e.* treasure or treasury, but it more probably represents *sarkár*, an abbreviation for *mál-i-sarkar*, or *khazána-i-sarkár*, *i.e.* the Government Treasury.

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make, both those of the King and those of the nobles of the kingdom. When one makes a sale it is in new rupees, coined in the same year; but when one comes to receive payment the treasurers desire to make it in old rupees, by which one stands to lose up to 6 per cent; and if one wishes to have new silver, he must resolve to compound with them. On my fifth journey I went to see SHÁISTÁ KHÁN,[1] as I had promised him to do so on the preceding occasion, having pledged myself that he would be the first who should see what I had brought. Immediately on my arrival at SURAT I let him know, and I received a command to go to meet him at CHOUPART, a town of the DECCAN[2] to which he had laid siege. Having reached him in a short time, I sold him with but few words the greater part of what I had brought from EUROPE, and he told me that he awaited from day to day the money which they should send him from SURAT to pay the army and to pay me at the same time for that which he had bought from me. I was unable to believe, however, that this Prince was with so large an army without having much money with him, and I rather thought that he desired to make me lose something on the gold or silver pieces which I should receive for my payment, as he had done on my previous journey. The thing happened as I had foreseen; but for my sustenance and that of my people and cattle, he ordered that they should bring me food

[1] Sháistá Khán. See p. 18 *n.*

[2] In Book II, chap. xi, this place is spelt Choupar. It was probably Sholápúr, in the Deccan. The sale was made in 1660, during Tavernier's fifth visit to India. In his *Persian Travels*, he states (Book IV, p. 467) that on his sixth journey, when at Ispahan, in 1664, he told the King that he had sold the jewels, which he had shown to him on the previous occasion, to Sháistá Khán for 120,000 rupees.

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in abundance, both evening and morning, and on most days he sent to invite me to eat with him. Ten or twelve days passed, during which I heard no mention of the money for which he waited, and being resolved to take leave of him, I went to his tent. He appeared somewhat surprised, and, regarding me with a sullen countenance, "Wherefore," said he to me, "do you wish to leave without being paid? and who would pay you afterwards if you went away without receiving your money?" At these words, assuming a look as proud as his: "My King," I replied, "will cause me to be paid; for he is so generous that he will pay all his subjects when they have not had satisfaction for what they have sold in foreign countries." "And in what manner would thy King recoup himself?" replied he, as in a rage. "With two or three good vessels of war," I replied, "which he will send to the port of SURAT or towards its coasts, to await those coming from MOCHA." He appeared stung by this reply, and, not daring to carry his ill-humour further, he at once commanded his treasurer to give me a letter of exchange on AURANGÁBÁD. At which I was very glad, because it was a place through which I had to pass in order to go to GOLCONDA,[1] and which, moreover, spared me carriage and the risk to my money. The following day I received my letter of exchange, and took my leave of the Prince, who was no longer angry, and he requested me if I returned to INDIA not to omit to go

[1] There appears to be no other indication of Tavernier's destination at this time; he probably spent, according to M. Joret, the latter part of this year (1660) in this journey to Golconda and the return to Surat, embarking for Bandar Abbas at the end of the same year or the beginning of 1661.

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and see him ; which I did on my sixth and last journey.[1] When I arrived at SURAT he was in BENGAL, where I went to seek him, and he bought from me the residue of my goods which I had not been able to sell either to the King of PERSIA or to the GREAT MOGUL.

To return to my payment, having arrived at AURANGÁBÁD, I went to seek the Grand Treasurer, who had never previously seen me, but he told me that he knew wherefore I had come to see him, that three days previously he had received notice, and that he had already drawn from the treasury the money which he was to pay me.[2] When all the bags required for my payment had been brought, I caused one of them to be opened by my Changer, who saw that it contained rupees on which 2 per cent would be lost. Upon which I thanked the Treasurer, and told him that I did not understand that sort of thing, that I would send one of my people to complain to SHÁISTÁ KHÁN and ask him to order that I should be paid in new silver, or I would go to reclaim my goods : this I straightway did. But having sent a man to him, and getting no reply by the time that I might have received one, I went to tell the Treasurer that since I had no news from the Prince I was going myself to take back what I had sold. I believe that he had already received instructions as to what he should do, for seeing that I was resolved to start he said he would be grieved by the trouble I was taking, and it would be better that

[1] In 1666. (See Book I, chap. viii.)

[2] Elsewhere (Book II, chap. xi) he says the payment was made at Dultabat (Daulatábád) by the Treasurer, who, four days previously, had received an advice of his coming. In that passage, so far from alluding to difficulties, he praises the exactitude of the Indians in reference to matters of trade.

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we should agree with one another. In short, after several discussions concerning the 2 per cent which they desired I should lose, I obtained 1 per cent of it; and I would have lost the other except for the fortunate meeting with a *Shroff* who had to receive payment of a letter of exchange on GOLCONDA; for this *Shroff*, not having money at hand, was very glad to accommodate himself with mine, causing me to receive the same sum in new silver at GOLCONDA at fifteen days' sight.

Finally, these Changers, in order to test silver, make use of thirteen small pieces, one half of copper and the other of silver, which are the "touches."[1]

These thirteen pieces, being all of different standards, are not used by them except when a small quantity of silver or some worked silver is in question; for in the case of a large amount they carry it to the refiner. All this silver is bought by the weight called *tola*, which weighs 9 *deniers* and 8 *grains*, or 32 *vals*, and 81 *vals* make, as I have said, one *once*;[2] so that 100 *tolas* makes 38 *onces* 21 *deniers* and 8 *grains*.

The following are the different values of the 13 *standards of silver.*

The first and lowest standard they take at 15 *paisá* the *tola*, which make of our money . . 9 *sols* 2 *deniers*.[3]

The 2d at 18 *paisá*, which are equal to	10	,,	2	,,
3d	,, 20	,,	,,	,,	12	,, 6	,,
4th	,, 23	,,	,,	,,	14	,, 6	,,

[1] The French original contains a figure of the touchstones. A description of them will be also found in the *Aín-i-Akbári*.

[2] See p. 25.

[3] As the *sol* was the sixtieth part of the *écu* of 4s. 6d., its value was .9 of a penny, and the ordinary *paisá* of Tavernier was consequently worth .54 of a penny. See p. 25 *n.* and Appendix.

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The 5th at 26 *paisá*, which are equal to 15 *sols* 10 *deniers*.

6th	,, 29	,,	,,	,,	17 ,,	6	,,
7th	,, 33	,,	,,	,,	19 ,,	2	,,
8th	,, 35	,,	,,	,,	20 ,,	10	,,
9th	,, 38	,,	,,	,,	22 ,,	6	,,
10th	,, 40	,,	,,	,,	24 ,,	2	,,
11th	,, 43	,,	,,	,,	25 ,,	10	,,
12th	,, 46	,,	,,	,,	27 ,,	6	,,
13th	,, 49	,,	,,	,,	29 ,,	2	,,

I must not forget to remark here on the extreme parsimony both of these *Shroffs*, or Changers, and of all Indians in general; and it will suffice to give an example of it which is very special, and of which Europeans are not as yet aware. It is, that of all the gold which remains on the touchstone when an assay has been made, and of which we here make no account, far from allowing so small a thing to be lost, they collect it all by means of a ball, made half of black pitch, and half of wax, with which they rub the stone which carries the gold, and at the end of some years they burn the ball and find the gold which it has accumulated. This ball is about the size of our tennis-court balls, and the stone is like those which our goldsmiths commonly use.

This is all that I have been able to remark of special importance with regard to the customs and coins of INDIA, and there only remains for me to speak of the exchange.

As all goods produced in the Empire of the GREAT MOGUL, and a portion of those of the Kingdom of GOLCONDA and the Kingdom of BIJAPUR, reach SURAT to be exported by sea to different places of

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ASIA and EUROPE, when one leaves SURAT to go for the purchase of these goods in the towns from whence they are obtained, as at LAHOR, AGRA, AMADABAT, SERONGE, BRAMPOUR, DACA, PATNA, BANAROU, GOLCONDA, DECAN, VISAPOUR, and DULTABAD,[1] one takes silver from SURAT and disposes of it at the places where one goes, giving coin for coin at *par*. But when it happens that the merchant finds himself short of money in these same places, and that he has need of it to enable him to pay for the goods which he has bought, it is necessary for him to meet it at SURAT, when the bill is due, which is at two months, and by paying a high rate of exchange.

At LAHORE on SURAT the exchange goes up to $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.

At AGRA from $4\frac{1}{4}$ to 5.

At AHMADÁBÁD from 1 to $1\frac{1}{2}$.

At SIRONJ to 3.

At BURHÁNPUR from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3.

At DACCA to 10.

At PATNA from 7 to 8.

At BENARES to 6.

At these three last places they only give letters of exchange on AGRA, and at AGRA they give others on SURAT, the whole only amounting to the sum I have stated.

At GOLCONDA from 4 to 5.

And on GOA the same.

At DECCAN to 3.

At BIJAPUR to 3.

At DAULATÁBÁD from 1 to $1\frac{1}{2}$.

[1] Lahore, Agra, Ahmadábád, Sironj, Berhámpur or Burhánpur, Dacca, Benares, Golconda, Deccan, Bijapur, and Daulatábád. These spellings will be used on subsequent pages.

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In some years the exchange rises from 1 to 2 per cent, when there are *Rajas*, or petty tributary Princes, who interfere with trade, each claiming that the goods ought to traverse his territory and pay him custom. There are two in particular between AGRA and AHMADÁBÁD, one of whom is the *Raja* of ANTIVAR,[1] and the other the *Raja* of BERGAM,[2] who disturb the merchants much in reference to this matter. One may, however, avoid passing the territories of these two Princes by taking another route from AGRA to SURAT by way of SIRONJ and BURHÁNPUR[3]; but these are fertile lands intersected by several rivers, the greater number of which are without bridges and without boats, and it is impossible to pass until two months after the rainy season. It is for this reason that the merchants who have to be at SURAT in the season for going to sea, generally take their way through the country of these two *Rajas*, because they are able to traverse it at all seasons, even in the time of the rains, which consolidate the sand with which nearly the whole country is covered.

Besides, it is not to be wondered at that the exchange is so high, for those who lend the money run, for their part, the risk that if the goods are stolen the money is lost to them.

When you arrive at SURAT, to embark, you find there also plenty of money. For it is the principal trade of the nobles of INDIA to place their money in vessels in speculations for HORMUZ, BASSORA, and

[1] A misprint, probably, for Dantivar (see Book I, chap. v), *i.e.* Danta, or Dantawár, a State in Gujarát.

[2] Probably the Bargant of Book I, chap. v. In the edition of 1713 it is given as Bergant. The proper name is possibly Wungáon.

[3] For description of Sironj and Burhánpur see chap. iv.

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MOCHA, and even for BANTAM, ACHIN, and the PHILIPPINES. For MOCHA and BASSORA the exchange ranges from 22 to 24 per cent, and for HORMUZ from 16 to 20; and for the other places which I have named the exchange varies in proportion to the distance. But if the goods happen to be lost by tempest, or to fall into the hands of the Malabaris,[1] who are the pirates of the Indian seas, the money is lost to those who have risked lending it.

I have but one word to say, in addition, regarding the weights and measures. Here, in the margin, is the 5th part of the ell of AGRA, and the 4th of the ell of AHMADÁBÁD and SURAT. As for the weights, the ordinary *mand* is 69 *livres*, and the *livre* is of 16 *onces*; but the *mand*, which is used to weigh indigo, is only 53 *livres*. At SURAT you speak of a *seer*, which is $1\frac{3}{4}$ *livres*,[2] and the *livre* is 16 *onces*.

[1] Malavares in the original.

[2] This must mean *one* $\frac{3}{4}$ths of a *livre*, as elsewhere in this volume; that is about the relation, roughly speaking, namely, 12 French *onces*. The present authorised British weights are—

80 tolas (or rupee's weight) = 1 seer = $2\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. Troy.
40 seers = 1 *mand* or maund = . 100 „ „

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CHAPTER III

Concerning carriages and the manner of travelling in INDIA

BEFORE setting out for AGRA, it is appropriate to speak of the carriages and of the manner of travelling in INDIA, which, in my opinion, is not less convenient than all that they have been able to invent in order that one may be carried in comfort either in FRANCE or in ITALY. Different from (the custom in) PERSIA, one does not employ in INDIA in caravans or journeys either asses, mules, or horses, all being carried there on oxen or by waggon, as the country is sufficiently level.[1] If any merchant takes a horse from PERSIA he only does it for show, and to have him led by hand, or in order to sell him advantageously to some noble.

They give an ox a load weighing 300 or 350 *livres*, and it is an astonishing sight to behold caravans numbering 10,000 or 12,000 oxen together, for the transport of rice, corn, and salt—in the places where they exchange these commodities—carrying rice to where corn only grows, and corn to where rice only grows,

[1] The English translation of this passage by John Phillips, in 1677 and 1684, is, like many others, curiously inaccurate, and, as a sample, it may be given here: "Quite otherwise it is in Persia, where they neither make use of asses, mules, nor horses, but transport all their wares to the Indies upon oxen or in wains, their countries being so near to one another!"

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and salt to the places where there is none. They use camels also for caravans, but rarely, and they are specially reserved to carry the baggage of the nobles. When the season presses, and they wish to have the goods quickly at SURAT, in order to ship them, they load them on oxen, and not on carts. As all the territories of the GREAT MOGUL are well cultivated, the fields are enclosed by good ditches, and each has its tank or reservoir for irrigation. This it is which is so inconvenient for travellers, because, when they meet caravans of this description in narrow roads, they are sometimes obliged to wait two or three days till all have passed. Those who drive these oxen follow no other trade all their lives; they never dwell in houses, and they take with them their women and children.[1] Some among them possess 100 oxen, others have more or fewer, and they all have a Chief, who acts as a prince, and who always has a chain of pearls suspended from his neck. When the caravan which carries corn and that which carries rice meet, rather than give way one to the other, they often engage in very sanguinary encounters. The GREAT MOGUL, considering one day that these quarrels were prejudicial to commerce and to the transport of food in his kingdom, arranged that the Chiefs of the two caravans should come to see him. When they had arrived, the King, after he had advised them for their mutual benefit to live for the future in harmony with each other, and not to fight

[1] The well-known Brinjárás perform most of this carrying trade in India at present. In the Central Provinces, South-Western Bengal, and the northern districts of Madras, I have met with large numbers of them; and in Sambalpur I have seen their fixed *dépôts*, where the infirm are left while the others are on their journeys. Railways have driven them from many of the routes which they used to follow.

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any more when they met, presented each of them with a *lakh*, or 100,000 rupees,[1] and a chain of pearls.

In order to enable the reader to understand this manner of carrying in INDIA, it should be remarked that among the idolaters of this country there are four tribes, whom they call *Manaris*,[2] of which each numbers about one hundred thousand souls. These people dwell in tents, as I have said, and have no other trade but to transport provisions from one country to another. The first of these tribes has to do with corn only, the second with rice, the third with pulse, and the fourth with salt, which it obtains from SURAT, and even from as far as CAPE COMORIN. You can also distinguish these tribes in this manner—their priests, of whom I shall elsewhere speak, mark those of the first with a red gum, of the size of a crown, on the middle of the forehead, and make a streak along the nose, attaching to it above some grains of corn, sometimes nine, sometimes twelve, in the form of a rose. Those of the second are marked with a yellow gum, in the same places, but with grains of rice; those of the third with a gray gum, with grains of millet, and also on the shoulders, but without placing grains there. As for those of the fourth, they carry a lump of salt, suspended from the neck in a bag, which weighs sometimes from 8 to 10 *livres* (for the heavier it is the more honour they have in carrying it), with which, by way of penance before praying, they beat their stomachs every morning.

[1] See p. 28 *n.*

[2] *Manaris;* ? Mundaris or Mundas, with whom, however, the Brinjárás or Lúbhánás cannot be identified. See *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, p. 333.

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All have in general a string, or tress, round the shoulders, from which hangs a small box of silver in the form of a reliquary, of the size of a good hazel nut, in which they keep a superstitious writing which their priests have enclosed in it. They place them also on their oxen, and on the other animals born in their herds, for which they entertain a special affection, loving them as dearly as they do their children, especially when they have none of the latter.[1]

The dress of the women is but a simple cloth, white or coloured, which makes five or six turns like a petticoat from the waist downwards, as if they had three or four one above the other. From the waist upwards they tatoo their skin with flowers, like as when one applies cupping glasses, and they paint these flowers divers colours with the juice of roots,[2] in such a manner that it seems as though their skin was a flowered fabric.

While the men load their animals in the morning and the women fold up their tents, the priests who follow them elevate, in the most beautiful parts of the plain where they are encamped, an idol in the form of a serpent, entwined about a staff of six or seven feet in height,[3] and each one in file goes to make reverence to it, the girls turning round it three times. After all have passed, the priests take care to remove the idol and to load it on an ox allocated for that purpose.

The caravans of waggons do not ordinarily consist of more than one hundred or two hundred at the most.

[1] Tavernier here seems to perpetrate something very like a "bull."

[2] The English translation of John Phillips has it juice of "grapes;" but the original word is *racines*, not *raisins*.

[3] This cannot fail to suggest the brazen serpent which Moses lifted up in the wilderness. Here the allusion is to *nág*, or snake worship.

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Each waggon is drawn by ten or twelve oxen, and accompanied by four soldiers, whom the owner of the merchandise is obliged to pay. Two of them walk on each side of the waggon, over which there are two cords passed, and the four ends are held by the soldiers, so that if the waggon threatens to upset in a bad place, the two soldiers who are on the opposite side hold the cords tight, and prevent it turning over.

All the waggons which come to SURAT from AGRA or from other places in the Empire, and which return by AGRA and JAHÁNÁBÁD,[1] are compelled to carry lime, which comes from BROACH, and which, as soon as it is used, becomes as hard as marble.[2] It is a great source of profit to the King, who sends this lime where he pleases; but, on the other hand, he takes no dues from the waggons.

I come to the manner of travelling in INDIA, where oxen take the place of horses, and there are some of them whose paces are as easy as those of our hacks. But you should take care when you buy or hire an ox for riding that he has not horns longer than a foot, because, if they are longer, when the flies sting him, he chafes and tosses back the head, and may plant a horn in your stomach, as has happened several times. These oxen allow themselves to be driven like our horses, and have for sole bridle a cord, which passes through the tendon of the muzzle or the nostrils. In level tracts, where there are no stones, they do not shoe these oxen, but they always do so in rough places, both on account of the pebbles and because of the heat, which may injure the hoof. Whereas in EUROPE

[1] Janabat in the original.

[2] Coral or shell lime probably, which make the best *chunám*.

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we attach our oxen by the horns; those of INDIA have a large hump on the neck,[1] which keeps in position a leather collar about four fingers wide, which they have only to throw over the head when they harness them.

They have also, for travelling, small, very light carriages, which can contain two persons;[2] but usually one travels alone, in order to be more comfortable, being then able to have his clothes with him; the canteen of wine and some small requisites for the journey having their place under the carriage, to which they harness a pair of oxen only. These carriages, which are provided, like ours, with curtains and cushions, are not slung; but, on the occasion of my last journey, I had one made after our manner, and the two oxen by which it was drawn cost me very nearly 600 rupees.[3] The reader need not be astonished at this price, for there are some of them which are strong, and make journeys lasting 60 days, at 12 or 15 leagues a day, and always at the trot. When they have accomplished half the journey, they give to each two or three balls of the size of our penny rolls, made of wheaten flour, kneaded with butter and black sugar, and in the evening they have a meal of chick-peas,

[1] The hump on the shoulders was unknown to John Phillips, the author of the English translation of 1677 and 1684, so he renders this passage, "the Indians only put a thick truss upon their necks, that keeps," etc. This is a good example of the kind of mistake many translators have fallen into when, in ignorance of local facts, they have strained their author's words in order to make sense, as they conceive it.

[2] The vehicle known as a *tonga* in India.

[3] I believe as much as Rs. 500, and perhaps more, is sometimes given now in Bombay and the Central Provinces for a good pair of trotting bullocks. The pace they can keep up has to be experienced in order to be properly realised.

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crushed and steeped in water for half an hour. The hire of a carriage amounts to about a rupee a day. The journey from SURAT to AGRA occupies thirty-five or forty days' journey by road, and you pay for the whole journey from 40 to 45 rupees. From SURAT to GOLCONDA it is nearly the same distance and the same price, and it is in the same proportion throughout the whole of INDIA.

Those who can afford to take their ease make use of a *pallankeen*,[1] in which they travel very comfortably. It is a kind of bed, of 6 or 7 feet long and 3 feet wide, with a small rail all round. A sort of cane, called bamboo,[2] which they bend when young, in order to cause it to take the form of a bow in the middle, sustains the cover of the *pallankeen*, which is of satin or brocade; and when the sun shines on one side, an attendant, who walks near the *pallankeen*, takes care to lower the covering. There is another, who carries at the end of a stick a kind of basket-work shield, covered with some kind of beautiful stuff, in order to promptly shelter the occupant of the *pallankeen* from the heat of the sun when it turns and strikes him on the face.[3] The two ends of the bamboo are attached on both sides to the body of the *pallankeen* between two poles, joined together in a *saltier*, or St. Andrew's Cross, and each of these poles is 5 or 6 feet

[1] Pallanquin in the original. Palki and Pallankeen are the terms now used in India.

[2] Bambouc in the original. Bamboo (*Bambusa arundinacea*, etc.) It is not necessary to grow bamboos to a particular shape, as by means of fire they can be made to bend into the required forms. Still, they are so trained sometimes during growth, I believe.

[3] The English translation of 1684 says, "when he turns and lies on his face."

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long. Some of these bamboos cost as much as 200 *écus*, and I have paid 125 for one. Three men, at most, place themselves at each of these two ends, to carry the *pallankeen* on the shoulder, the one on the right and the other on the left, and they travel in this way faster than our chairmen in PARIS, and with an easier pace, being trained to the trade from an early age. When you wish to make haste, and travel up to 13 or 14 leagues a day, you take 12 men to carry the *pallankeen*, so that they may relieve one another from time to time. You pay each, for everything, only 4 rupees a month, but you pay up to 5 rupees when the journey is long, and when it is required to travel for more than sixty days.

Whether by carriage or *pallankeen* he who desires to travel with honour in INDIA ought to take with him 20 or 30 armed men, some with bows and arrows and others with muskets, and you pay them as much per month as to those who carry the *pallankeen*. Sometimes, for greater show, you carry a flag. This is always done by the English and Dutch, for the honour of their Companies. These attendants not only conduce to your honour, but they watch also for your protection, and act as sentinels in the night, relieving one another, and striving to give you no cause of complaint against them. For it should be mentioned that in the towns where you hire them they have a head man who answers for their honesty, and when you employ them, each one gives him a rupee.[1]

In the large villages there is generally a Muhammadan Governor, and there you find sheep, fowl, and pigeons for sale; but in the places where there

[1] A custom still common in India.

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are only *Banians*, you only find flour, rice, vegetables, and milk.

The great heats of INDIA compel travellers who are not accustomed to it to travel by night, in order to rest by day. When they enter towns which are closed they must leave by sunset, if they wish to take the road. For night being come, and the gates closed, the Governor of the place, who has to answer for thefts which occur within his jurisdiction, does not allow any one to go out, and says that it is the King's order, which he must obey. When I entered such places I took provisions, and left early, in order to camp outside under some tree in the shade, waiting till it was the hour to march.

They measure the distances of places in INDIA by *gos* and by *coss*. A *gos*[1] is about four of our common leagues, and a *coss*[2] about one league.

It is time now to leave SURAT for AGRA and JAHÁNÁBÁD, in order to see what is remarkable on that route.

[1] The *gos*, or *gau*, is equal to about 8 miles in Southern India, but in Ceylon, according to Sir Emerson Tennent, it is only from $3\frac{1}{3}$ to 4 miles.

[2] In the original edition this word is spelt *coste* by mistake, as explained in the "*Avis*;" in subsequent editions it is *cosse*. It has been thought better to substitute the ordinary *Anglo-Indian* term *coss* throughout in this translation. While here definitely, and elsewhere inferentially, Tavernier gives the *coss* an equal value with the league, Thevenot says the *coss* was only half a league. The old French "*lieue de poste*" = 2 miles 743 yards, and Akbar's *coss* = 2 miles 1038 yards. But the *coss* was and is a most variable unit, as, indeed, Tavernier himself remarks. In some parts of India it exceeds 3 miles, and the Bengal *coss* of 4000 cubits or 2000 yards = 1 m. 1 f. 3 p. $3\frac{1}{2}$ y. (See Appendix to this volume.)

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CHAPTER IV

Route from SURAT *to* AGRA *by* BURHÁNPUR *and* SIRONJ

ALL the routes by which one can travel to the principal towns of INDIA are not less well known to me than are those of TURKEY and of PERSIA, and, for six journeys which I have made from PARIS to ISPAHAN, I have made double the number from ISPAHAN to AGRA, and to several other places in the Empire of the GREAT MOGUL. But it would weary the reader to cause him to pass more than once by the same roads while giving him an account of these different journeys, and of sundry small adventures with which they have been accompanied; therefore it is that, without indicating for him the times at which I have made them, it will suffice to give him an exact description of each route.

There are but two roads from SURAT to AGRA, one by BURHÁNPUR and SIRONJ, and the other by AHMAD-ÁBÁD, and the first will form the subject of this chapter.

From SURAT to BARNOLY (BARDOLI[1]), 14 *coss*.

BARDOLI is a large town where you cross a river by a ford, and traverse in this first march a country of mixed character, sometimes meeting woods, and sometimes fields of wheat and rice.

[1] Bardoli, or Panoli of some maps. The distance from Surat as the crow flies is only about 18 miles. In chap. ix. it is said to be 12 *coss* only.

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From BARNOLY to BALOR (BALLOR), 10 *coss.*

BALLOR is also a large village, and is situated on a tank which has about a league in circuit, upon the edge of which you see a good fort, which, however, they neglect to keep in repair. Three-quarters of a league on this side of the village you pass a rivulet by a ford, but with much difficulty, because there are many rocks and stones under the water which are liable to overturn a carriage. You travel this second day nearly altogether in woods.

From BALOR to KERKOA,[1] or, as they now call it, the Begum's *caravansarái*, 5 *coss.*

This *caravansarái* is large and spacious, and it is BEGUM-SAHIB, the daughter of SHÁH JAHÁN, who caused it to be built as a work of charity. For formerly the stage from BALLOR to NAWAPURÁ was too long, and this place being on the frontier of the country of those *Rajas* who are generally unwilling to recognise the GREAT MOGUL, whose vassals they are, scarcely a caravan passed there which was not ill-treated; moreover, it is a forest country. Between the *caravansarái* and NAWAPURÁ you pass a river by a ford, and another close to NAWAPURÁ.[2]

From KERKOA to NAVAPOURA (NAWAPURÁ), 15 *coss.*[3]

NAWAPURÁ is a large village full of weavers, but rice constitutes the principal article of commerce in the place. A river passes by it, which makes the soil excel-

[1] The site of Kerkoa, or the Begum's *caravansera* (*sic* in orig.), is probably near Behánáa. (See Book I, chap. ix.)

[2] These rivers are tributaries of the Tapti.

[3] From Bardoli (Panoli) to Nawapúrá the distance as the crow flies is 42 miles; here it is given as 30 *coss*, and in chap. ix. as 28 *coss*. This and the preceding stage indicate a value of something less than 1½ mile for the *coss*. (See Book I, chap. ix.)

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lent, and irrigates the rice, which requires water. All the rice which grows in this country possesses a particular quality, causing it to be much esteemed. Its grain is half as small again as that of common rice, and, when it is cooked, snow is not whiter than it is, besides which, it smells like musk, and all the nobles of INDIA eat no other. When you wish to make an acceptable present to any one in PERSIA, you take him a sack of this rice. It is the river which passes KERKOA, and the others of which I have spoken, which combine to form the SURAT river.[1]

From NAVAPOURA to NASARBAR (NANDURBÁR) 9 *coss.*
,, NASARBAR to DOL-MEDAN (?) . . 14 ,,
,, DOL-MEDAN to SENQUERA (SINDKEIR) 7 ,,
,, SENQUERA to TALLENER (TÁLNEIR) . 10 ,,

At TÁLNEIR you cross the river which goes to BROACH, where it is very wide, and from thence it flows into the Gulf of CAMBAY.[2]

From TALLENER to CHOUPRE (CHOPRÁ) . 15 *coss.*
,, CHOUPRE to SENQUELIS (SANKLI) . 13 ,,
,, SENQUELIS to NABIR (RÁVER?) . 10 ,,
,, NABIR to BALDELPOURA (BALLEDÁ) 9[3] ,,

It is at BALLEDÁ that loaded carts pay the BURHÁNPUR customs dues, but the carts which only carry passengers pay nothing. Between NAWAPURÁ and BURHÁNPUR it is all a good country for wheat, rice, and indigo.

From BALDELPOURA to BRAMPOUR[4] (BURHÁNPUR), 5 *coss.*

[1] The Tápti.

[2] This is a mistake, as the river at Tálneir is the Tápti. It is the Narbadá which goes to Broach.

[3] These distances appear to be too great.

[4] Burhánpur or Berhampur, now a station on the Great Indian Peninsular Railway.

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BURHÁNPUR is a large, much-ruined town, of which the houses are for the most part covered with thatch. It has a large castle still standing in the middle of the town, and it is there that the Governor resides. The government of this province is so important that it is conferred only upon a son or an uncle of the King, and AURANGZEB, who now reigns, was for a long time Governor of BURHÁNPUR during the reign of his father. But since they have realised what can be yielded by the province of BENGAL, which formerly bore the title of kingdom, as I shall elsewhere indicate, its government is now the most considerable in the Empire of the GREAT MOGUL. There is a large trade in this town, and both at BURHÁNPUR itself and in all the province an enormous quantity of very transparent muslins are made, which are exported to PERSIA, TURKEY, MUSCOVIE, POLAND, ARABIA, GRAND CAIRO, and other places. Some of these are dyed various colours and with flowers, and women make veils and scarfs of them; they also serve for the covers of beds, and for handkerchiefs, such as we see in EUROPE with those who take snuff. There are other fabrics, which they allow to remain white, with a stripe or two of gold or silver the whole length of the piece, and at each of the ends, from the breadth of one inch up to twelve or fifteen—in some more, and in others less—it is a tissue of gold, silver, and of silk with flowers, whereof there is no reverse, one side being as beautiful as the other. If those which they export to POLAND, where they are in great demand, have not at both ends, at the least, three or four inches of gold or silver, or if this gold and silver become black when crossing the ocean between SURAT and

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HORMUZ, and from TREBIZONDE to MANGALIA,[1] or other ports of the BLACK SEA, the merchant cannot dispose of them except at great loss. He ought to take great care that the goods are well packed, and that damp cannot enter: this, for so long a voyage, requires much care and trouble. Some of these fabrics are all banded, half cotton and half gold or silver, and such pieces are called *ornis*.[2] They contain from fifteen to twenty ells, and cost from one hundred to one hundred and fifty rupees, the cheapest being not under ten or twelve. Those which are only about two ells long serve ladies of rank for the purpose of making scarfs and the veils which they wear on their heads, and they are sold in abundance in PERSIA and in TURKEY. They make, besides, at BURHÁNPUR other kinds of fabrics, and there is hardly another province in the whole of INDIA which has a greater abundance of cotton.

In leaving the town of BURHÁNPUR there is another river to be crossed besides the large one[3] of which I have above spoken; as it has no bridge, when the water is low you cross by a ford, and by boat in the rainy season.

The distance from SURAT to BURHÁNPUR is 132 *coss*, and these *coss* are the smallest in India, a cart being able to traverse one in less than an hour.

I remember here a strange commotion which arose at BURHÁNPUR in the year 1641,[4] when I was returning

[1] Mingrelia? in Transcaucasia, now Russian territory.

[2] *Ornis.* This word may perhaps represent *orhní.* Hind., a woman's mantle. In Book II, chaps. xii and xiv, it is spelt *ormis*, and in the 1679 edition *ormus.*

[3] The larger river is the Tápti, and the other, one of its tributaries.

[4] In reference to this casual mention of a date, M. Joret remarks that Tavernier has been lost sight of from the spring of 1639, when he

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from AGRA to SURAT. In a few words, the origin of it was as follows. The Governor of the Province, who was the nephew of the King on his mother's side, had among his pages a young man of handsome appearance and fairly good family, who had a brother who lived as a *Dervish*,[1] and for whom all the town entertained much veneration. One day . . . the page, observing that he was about to commit an offence, stabbed him three times in the stomach, and slew him before he could open his lips to cry aloud. This being done, the page left the palace without allowing any sign of emotion to appear on his face, and the guards at the gate thought that the Governor had sent him on some message. The *Dervish* having learnt from his brother how the affair had passed, in order to preserve him from the fury of the people, and to disclose at the same time the infamy of the Governor, caused all the other *Dervishes*, his comrades, to seize the banners of MUHAMMAD which were planted about the mosque, and at the same time they cried out that all the *Dervishes* and *Fakirs* and others, who were good Muhammadans, should follow them. In less than an hour a multitude of rabble assembled, and the *Dervish*, taking the lead with his brother, went straight to the palace, crying out with all their might, "*Let us die for* MUHAMMAD, *or let them give to us that infamous person in order that dogs may eat*

was at Ispahan, till he turns up thus in India in 1641. Towards the end of the same year he says he went to Goa (Book I, ch. xii). It is probable, M. Joret adds, that he spent the winter of 1640-41 at Agra, and in the same journey paid his first visit to Dacca in Bengal, which he revisited in 1666-67. In Book III, ch. xiv, he says, however, he was in Agra in 1642, which M. Joret thinks may be a misprint for 1641. (*Jean Baptiste Tavernier*, par C. Joret, Paris, 1886, pp. 54-60; see also the Introduction to this volume.)

[1] *Deruich* in original, for Dervish.

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him after his death, as he is not worthy to be interred amongst Mussulmans." The guard of the palace was not in a condition to resist such a multitude, and would have yielded to them, if the *Darogha*[1] of the town with five or six nobles had not found an opportunity of making themselves heard, and of appeasing them, by representing to them that they should have some respect for a nephew of the King, and by obliging them to withdraw. The same night the body of the Governor was carried to AGRA, together with his harem, and SHÁH JAHÁN, who reigned then, having heard the news, was not in the least distressed, because he inherited the property of all his subjects, and he even bestowed on the page a small appointment in BENGAL.

From BRAMPOUR to PIOMBI-SERA (?), 5 *coss.*

Before proceeding further, it should be remarked that throughout, wherever the word *sera* occurs, it means that it is a great enclosure of walls or hedges, within which are arranged all round 50 or 60 huts covered with thatch. There are some men and women there who sell flour, rice, butter, and vegetables, and who take care to prepare bread and cook rice. If by chance any Muhammadan should come there, he goes to the village to seek for a piece of mutton or a fowl, and those who supply the food to the traveller clean out for him the house that he wishes to take, and place in it a small bed of girths,[2] upon which he spreads the mattress that he carries on the road.

From PIOMBI-SERA to PANDER (MANDWA) . 3 *coss.*

[1] *Deroga* in original.

[2] A charpoy (*charpáí*, Hind.), with plaited tape (*newár*) stretched across the frame. Such beds are still to be found in the Government Rest Houses or Dawk Bungalows.

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From PANDER to BALKI-SERA (BALWÁRÁ ?) . 6 *coss.*
,, BALKI-SERI to NEVELKI-SERA (?) . 5 ,,
,, NEVELKI-SERA to COUSEMBA (?) . 5 ,,
,, COUSEMBA to CHENIPOUR (CHAINPUR) 3 ,,
,, CHENIPOUR to CHAROÜA (CHARWÁ) . 8 ,,
,, CHAROÜA to BICH-OLA (BICHOLÁ) . 8 ,,
,, BICH-OLA to ANDY (HINDIÁ) . . 4 ,,

At HINDIÁ[1] you cross a river which discharges itself into the GANGES between BENARES and PATNA.

From ANDY to ONQUENAS (?) . . . 4 *coss.*
,, ONQUENAS to TIQUERY (?) . . 5 ,,
,, TIQUERY to TOOLMEDEN (?) . . 4 ,,
,, TOOLMEDEN to NOVA-SERA (?) . . 4 ,,
,, NOVA-SERA to ICHAVOUR (ICHÁWAR) . 4 ,,
,, ICHAVOUR to SIGNOR (SEHORE) . 5 ,,
,, SIGNOR to CHEKAIPOUR[2] (SHEIKHPURÁ) 3 ,,
,, CHEKAIPOUR to DOUR-AY (DURÁHÁ) . 3 ,,
,, DOUR-AY to ATER-KAIRA (HATIÁKHERÁ) 3 ,,
,, ATER-KAIRA to TELOR (DILOD) . 4 ,,

[1] Andy. Owing to the position of this place being given as on a river which joined the Ganges, I endeavoured to see if it could possibly be identified with Chándiá on the Sone, but its position is quite off the route, and the distance is too great, while the distance to Hindiá, or Handiá, on the Narbadá, in the Hoshangábád District, is right; and as I find Rennell has suggested the same conclusion, we must accept the consequence that Tavernier was thinking of the course of the Sone when he was writing of the Narbadá, as the latter was often crossed by him, and he must have known its course well. Under the rule of Akbar, Hindiá, as a fortified position on the route from Agra to Surat and Golconda, was of considerable importance; to some extent this is testified by the ruins. In confirmation of the above, I have just observed on a map dated 1752, in the *Histoire Générale des Voyages*, that both Chandiá on the Sone and Hindiá on the Narbadá are called Andi, which, therefore, explains the confusion and mistake of Tavernier.

[2] Chekaipour can scarcely have been Shikárpur, as it lies to the south of Sihore and to the east of Icháwar. It appears to have been an unimportant village called Sheikhpurá, which is on the line of route.

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From TELOR to SAN-KAIRA (SINGATORIÁ ?) 3 *coss.*
,, SAN-KAIRA to SERONGE (SIRONJ)[1] . 12 ,,

SIRONJ is a large town, of which the majority of the inhabitants are *Banian* merchants and artisans, who have dwelt there from father to son, which is the reason why it contains some houses of stone and brick. There is a large trade there in all kinds of coloured calicoes, which they call *chites*, with which all the common people of PERSIA and TURKEY are clad, and which are used in several other countries for bedcovers and tablecloths. They make similar calicoes in other places besides SIRONJ, but the colours are not so lively, and they disappear when washed several times. It is different with those of SIRONJ; the more they are washed the more beautiful they become. A river[2] passes here, of which the water possesses the property of giving this vivacity to the colours; and during the rainy season, which lasts four months, the workers print their calicoes according as the foreign merchants have given them patterns, because, as soon as the rains have ceased, the water of the river is more disturbed, and the sooner the calicoes are washed the better the colours hold, and become more lively.[3]

There is also made at SIRONJ a description of muslin which is so fine that when it is on the person you see all the skin as though it were uncovered. The merchants are not allowed to export it, and the Governor

[1] Sironj is a town in the State of Tonk, Rajputana. It is now much diminished from its former importance, which was largely due to the muslins and *chites* or chintzes which were produced there. Whether San-Kaira be rightly identified with Singatoriá or not, the distance from Dilod to Sironj is understated at 3 + 12 = 15 *coss*, as it amounts to upwards of 51 miles.

[2] A tributary of the Betwah river.

[3] See Book II, chap. xiii.

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sends all of it for the GREAT MOGUL'S seraglio, and for the principal courtiers. This it is of which the sultanas and the wives of the great nobles make themselves shifts and garments for the hot weather, and the King and the nobles enjoy seeing them wearing these fine shifts, and cause them to dance in them.

From BURHÁNPUR to SIRONJ there are 101 *coss*, which are greater than those between SURAT and BURHÁNPUR, for a cart takes an hour, and sometimes up to five quarters of an hour, to travel one of these *coss*. In these 100 leagues[1] of country you march for whole days among fertile fields of wheat and rice, which strongly resemble our fields at BEAUSSE,[2] for one rarely meets with woods, and between SIRONJ and AGRA the country is of much the same character. As the villages are very close to one another you travel in comfort, and make the day's journey as you please.

From SERONGE to MAGALKI-SERA (MOGUL-SARÁI)[3]	6	*coss*.
,, MAGALKI-SERA to PAULKI-SERA (?) .	2	,,
,, PAULKI-SERA to KASARIKI-SERA (KACHNER)	3	,,
,, KASARIKI-SERA to CHADOLKI-SERA (SHÁDORÁ)	6	,,
,, CHADOLKI-SERA to CALLABAS (KÁLÁ-BÁGH)	6	,,

[1] Here, as elsewhere, the league is used as the equivalent of the *coss*, and the fact pointed out on p. 52 and in the Appendix that the *coss* near Surat is a short one is referred to.

[2] La Beauce or Beausse, an ancient division of France in Orleanais. Its capital town was Chartres; it formed an extensive and very fertile plain; it is now comprised in the Department of Eure et Loire.

[3] Mogulsarái, or Moghal Sarái, in Tonk State, about 14 miles from Sironj, is not to be mistaken for a place of the same name on the E.I. Railway, near Benares.

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KÁLÁBÁGH is a large town, where formerly a great *Raja* resided who paid tribute to the GREAT MOGUL. Generally, when caravans passed it, the merchants were robbed, and he exacted from them excessive dues. But since AURANGZEB came to the throne he cut off his head, and those of a large number of his subjects. They have set up towers near the town on the high-road, and these towers are pierced all round by several windows, where they have placed in each one the head of a man at every two feet. On my last journey, in 1665, it was not long since this execution had taken place when I passed by KÁLÁBÁGH; for all the heads were still entire, and gave out an unpleasant odour.

From CALLABAS to AKMATE (AKAI?) . 2 *coss.*
,, AKMATE to COLLASAR (KOLÁRAS[1]) . 9 ,,

KOLÁRAS is a small town, of which all the inhabitants are idolaters. As I was entering it, on this final journey, there arrived there also eight large pieces of artillery, some forty-eight pounders, the others thirty-six pounders, each gun being drawn by twenty-four pairs of oxen. A strong and powerful elephant was following this artillery, and whenever there was a bad spot from which the oxen had difficulty in drawing it, they made the elephant advance, and push the gun with his trunk.

Outside the town, for the whole length of the high-road, there are a number of large trees which they call *mengues*,[2] and in several places near these trees you see small pagodas, each of which has its idol at the

[1] Koláras, or Kailáras, a well-known town in Gwalior, though not mentioned in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*. The total distance from Mogulserai to Koláras, measured on the map, is about 62 miles.

[2] Mangoes, the fruit of *Mangifera Indica*.

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entrance. This elephant, passing in front of one of these pagodas, near to which I was encamped, and where there were at the door three idols of about five feet in height, when he was close by took one with his trunk and broke it in two; he then took the next, and threw it so high and so far that it was broken in four pieces; while as for the third, he knocked off the head with a blow of his trunk. Some thought that the driver of the elephant had ordered him to do so, and had given him the signal; this I did not observe. Nevertheless, the *Banians* regarded it with an evil eye, without daring to say aught, for there were more than 2000 men to conduct the guns, all of them in the king's service, and Muhammadans, with the exception of the chief gunners, who were *Franks*,—French, English, and Dutch. The King was sending this artillery to the province of DECCAN, where his army was opposed to the *Raja* SIVA-JI, who had pillaged SURAT the previous year, as I shall have occasion for describing elsewhere.

From COLLASAR to SANSELE (SIPRI) . . 6 *coss.*
„ SANSELE to DONGRY (DONGRI)[1] . 4 „
„ DONGRY to GATE . . . . 3 „

GATE[2] is a pass in the mountains, which is half a quarter of a league long, and which you descend when going from SURAT to AGRA. You can still see at the entrance the ruins of two or three castles, and the road is so narrow that chariots can only pass one another with the greatest difficulty.

[1] Dongri of Atlas Sheet, 8 miles from Sipri, which is 15 miles from Koláras; Dungri-Ghát is represented on some maps near Narwár.

[2] Gate stands perhaps for some separate *ghát* or pass, probably near Gopalpur on the Sind river, about 6½ miles from Dongri.

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Those who come from the south, *en route* to AGRA, as from SURAT, GOA, BIJAPUR, GOLCONDA, and MASULIPATAM, and other places, cannot avoid traversing this pass, not having any other road except by taking that through AHMADÁBÁD. There were formerly gates at each end of the pass, and at that which was on the AGRA side there are five or six shops of *Banians*, who sell flour, butter, rice, herbs, and vegetables. On my last journey I halted at one of these shops while awaiting the coaches and carts, all having descended from them for this transit. Close by them was a large store full of sacks of rice and corn, and behind these sacks there was concealed a snake of thirteen or fourteen feet in length, and of proportionate girth. A woman while taking some grain from the sacks was bitten on the arm by this snake, and, feeling herself wounded, left the shop, crying "*Ram, Ram!*" that is to say, "Oh God! Oh God!" Immediately several *Banians*, both men and women, ran to her aid, and they tied the arm above the wound, thinking that that would prevent the poison from ascending higher. But it was unavailing, for immediately her face swelled, and then became blue, and she died in less than an hour. The *Rájputs*,[1] who are considered to be the best soldiers in INDIA, constitute the heathen soldiery, and make no scruple of killing when it is a question of attacking or defending. As this woman was on the point of death, four of these cavaliers arrived, and, having learnt what had happened, entered the store each with a sword and a short pike in his hand, and slew the serpent. The people of the place then took it and threw it outside the village, and immediately a great number of birds of prey pitched on

[1] Ragipous in the original, Rájputs, the warrior caste.

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the carcase, which was devoured in less than an hour. The relatives of the woman took her body and carried it to the river to wash it, after which they burnt it. I was compelled to remain two days in this place, because there is a river[1] to cross, which, instead of lowering itself, increased from hour to hour on account of the rains which had fallen during three or four days, so that I had to cross it half a league lower down. One always strives to cross this river by ford, because in order to reach the boats it is necessary to unload the carts and coaches, and even to take them to pieces, so that they may be carried by hand for the whole of this half-league of road, which is the worst that it is possible to conceive. It is all covered with great rocks, and confined between the mountain and the river, so that when the waters are in flood they cover the whole road, there being none but the people of the country who are able to traverse it. They obtain their livelihood from the passengers, from whom they take the most that they can; but for that it were easy to facilitate the passage by making a bridge, since there is no lack of either wood or stone.

From GATE to NADER (NARWÁR[2]), 4 *coss*.

NARWÁR is a large town on the slope of a mountain,

[1] The Sind river, a tributary of the Jumna.

[2] Narwár or Ladara, in Gwalior, on right bank of Sind river, Lat. 25° 39′ 2″ N., Long. 77° 56′ 57″ E., 44 miles S. of Gwalior. According to Ferishta, Narwár was founded in the middle of the thirteenth century. (See *Imperial Gazetteer of India* for history, etc.) It is called Nurwur on the Atlas Sheet.

The distance is given as 17 *coss* from Koláras to Narwár, and the true distance is 35 miles, and the stages given between Mogulserái and Koláras amount to 28 *coss*, while the true distance is about 63 miles. Taken together, 45 *coss* = 98 miles, would give nearly the usual average of 2 miles = 1 *coss*.

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above which there is a kind of fortress, and the whole mountain is surrounded by walls. The majority of the houses, as is the case in the other towns of INDIA, are covered with thatch, and have only one storey; and those of the wealthy have but two, and are terraced. You see around the town several large tanks, which were formerly lined with cut stone, and which they have neglected to maintain; but at about one league off there are still some beautiful tombs. The same river which one has crossed the day before, and which one re-crosses four or five *coss* beyond NARWÁR, surrounds the three sides of the town and of the mountain, of which it makes a sort of peninsula, and after a long and tortuous course it discharges itself in the GANGES. They make at NARWÁR a quantity of quilted coverlets, some white, others embroidered with flowers in gold, silver, and silk.

From NADER to BARQUI-SERA (BÁRKI SARÁI) . 9 *coss.*
,, BARQUI-SERA to TRIE (ANTRI) . . 3 ,,
,, TRIE to GOÜALEOR (GWALIOR[1]) . . 6 ,,

GWALIOR is a large town, ill-built like others, after the manner of INDIA, and it is passed by a small river. It is built along the side of a mountain which lies to the west, and towards the top it is surrounded by walls with towers. There are in this enclosure several ponds formed by the rains, and what they cultivate there is

[1] Gwalior. The chief town of the State of the same name, and the residence of Maharaja Sindhia, situated in Lat. 26° 13′ N., and Long. 78° 12′ E., 65 miles south of Agra. The fort stands on an isolated hill of sandstone 342 feet high, 1½ mile long, and 300 yards wide. On its eastern side there are several colossal figures, sculptured in bold relief, as is mentioned by our author. The Jain and Hindu antiquities have been described by Mr. Fergusson. (See *Imperial Gazetteer of India.*) The distance from Narwár to Gwalior is nearly 50 miles, here it is given as 18 *coss*, hence the *coss* would exceed 2½ miles.

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sufficient to support the garrison; this it is which causes this place to be esteemed one of the best in INDIA. On the slope of the mountain which faces the north-west, SHÁH JÁHÁN caused a pleasure-house to be built, from whence one sees all the town, and it is fit to serve as a fortress. Below this house there are to be seen several images in bas-relief, sculptured in the rock, all of which have the forms of demons, and there is one, among others, of an extraordinary height.

Since the Muhammadan kings have taken possession of these countries, the fortress of GWALIOR has become the place where they send princes and great nobles when they wish to be sure of their persons. SHÁH JÁHÁN having ascended the throne by treachery, as I shall relate[1] in the course of my narrative, caused to be arrested, one after the other, all the princes and nobles whom he believed to be able to injure him, and sent them to GWALIOR, but he allowed them all to live and to enjoy the revenues of their property. AURANG-ZEB, his son, does just the contrary; for when he sends any great noble there, at the end of nine or ten days he causes him to be poisoned, and he makes this use of it so that the people may not say that he is a sanguinary monarch. As soon as he had in his power Prince MURÁD BAKSH,[2] his younger brother—who was the one whom he encouraged to take arms against his father, SHÁH JÁHÁN, and who, being Governor of the Province of GUJARÁT, had caused himself to be called King—he had him placed in this fortress, where he died. They have made him in the town an appropriately magnificent tomb, in a mosque which they built for the purpose, with a great court in front, all sur-

[1] See Book II, chap. ii. [2] Morat Bakche in original.

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rounded by vaults under which there are several shops. It is the custom in INDIA, when they build a public edifice, to make around it a large place for holding markets, with an endowment for the poor, to whom they give alms daily, and who pray to God for him who has caused the work to be done.

At 5 *coss* from GWALIOR you cross, by ford, a river which is called LANIKÉ.[1]

From GOÜALEOR to PATERKI-SERA (?) . . 3 *coss.*
,, PATERKI-SERA to QUARIQUI-SERA (KÚÁRÍ-SARÁI) . . . . 10 ,,

There is a bridge at PATERKI-SERA,[2] with six large arches, and the river which flows under it is called QUARINADI.[3]

From QUARIQUI-SERA to DOLPOURA (DHOLPUR[4]), 6 *coss.*

At DHOLPUR there is a great river called CHAMMEL-NADI[5]—you cross it in a boat, and it discharges itself in the JUMNA,[6] between AGRA and ALLAHABAD.

From DOLPOURA to MINASQUI-SERA (MANIÁ), 6 *coss.*

At (? Beyond) MANIA (-KI-SARÁI) there is a river

[1] This probably stands for Sanike, *i.e.* Sank river, a tributary of the Kúárí river.

[2] This is an obvious misprint for Quariqui-sera, where the bridge really was, namely, over the Kúárí river.

[3] Kúárí river, it joins the Sind river near its junction with the Jumna.

[4] Dholpur, the chief town of the State of the same name. It is 34 miles south of Agra, and 37 miles north-west of Gwalior. The value of the *coss* as deduced from this would be very nearly two miles, 37 *coss* = 71 miles. The Chambal river lies three miles to the south of this town, which was built by Rajah Dholan Deo, in the eleventh century, and surrendered to the Emperor Bábar in 1526.

[5] Chambal river. [6] Gemena in the original.

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called IAGOU-NADI[1]—you cross it by a very long bridge built of cut stone, and called IAOULCAPOUL.[2]

From MINASQUI-SERA to this bridge, 8 *coss*.

It is not far from this bridge that they examine goods, so that when you reach AGRA[3] you are not able to evade the dues; but it is particularly to see if among the number of cases full of fruits preserved in vinegar, in glass pots, there are not any cases of wine.

From the bridge of IAOULCAPOUL to AGRA, 4 *coss*.[4]

Thus from SIRONJ to AGRA is 106 *coss*, which are common *coss*, and from SURAT to AGRA 339.

[1] Jajou on the Utangan river, a tributary of the Jumna.

[2] Iaoulcapoul, for Jajou ká pul, or the bridge of the Jajou.

[3] For description of Agra, see Book I, chap. vii.

[4] There is a good deal of error in the distances as above stated. From Dholpur to Maniá it is 9 miles, from Maniá to Jajou on the Utangan river 6 miles, from Jajou to Agra about 20 miles; total, say 35 miles, as against 16 *coss* wrongly divided.

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CHAPTER V

Route from SURAT *to* AGRA *by* AHMADÁBÁD

FROM SURAT to BAROCHE (BROACH),[1] 22 *coss.*

All the country between these two towns is one of corn, rice, millet, and sugar-canes. Before entering BROACH, you cross, by ferry, a river which runs to CAMBAY and discharges itself afterwards into the gulf of the same name.

BROACH is a large town, containing an ancient fortress which they have neglected to maintain; but it has been widely renowned from all time on account of its river, which possesses a peculiar property for bleaching calicoes, and they bring them for this reason from all quarters of the empire of the GREAT MOGUL, where there is not the same abundance of water. In this place there is made a quantity of *baftas*[2] or pieces of long and narrow calico; these are very beautiful and closely woven cloths, and the price of them ranges from 4 up to 100 rupees. Custom dues have to be paid at BROACH on all goods, whether imported or exported. The English have a very fine dwelling there; and I remember that, on arrival one day when return-

[1] Broach, chief town of district of same name in Gujarát, situated on the right bank of the Narbadá, 30 miles from its mouth.

[2] *Baftas*, one of the numerous varieties of fine calico, which were formerly largely exported to Europe from India. (See *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, p. 35.)

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ing from AGRA to SURAT[1] with the President of the English, some jugglers immediately came to ask him if he desired that they should show him some examples of their art, these he was curious to see. The first thing they did was to kindle a large fire, and heat iron chains to redness; these they wound round their bodies, making believe that they experienced some pain, but not really receiving any injury. Next, having taken a small piece of stick, and having planted it in the ground, they asked one of the company what fruit he wished to have. He replied that he desired *mangoes*,[2] and then one of the conjurers, covering himself with a sheet, stooped to the ground five or six times. I had the curiosity to ascend to a room in order to see from above, through an opening of the sheet, what this man did, and I saw that he cut himself under his arm-pits with a razor, and anointed the piece of wood with his blood. At each time that he raised himself, the stick increased under the eye, and at the third time it put forth branches and buds. At the fourth time the tree was covered with leaves, and at the fifth we saw the flowers themselves. The President of the English had his clergyman with him, having taken him to AHMADÁBÁD to baptize a child of

[1] In the English translation of 1684, by John Philips, these names are transposed.

[2] Mango trick. Also described by Bernier, who, however, did not personally witness the performance. See Yule and Burnell, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, for other early accounts of this famous trick. On the only occasion I myself witnessed it, I was not much impressed with it as an example of sleight of hand; but the juggler was not of the first class. It seems probable that the above-mentioned juggler knew he was being watched by Tavernier, and therefore distracted his attention by means of the razor. Chardin speaks of the incident contemptuously, and also of Tavernier for being deceived by it. (*Voyages*, Amsterdam, ed. 1711, vol. iv, p. 133.)

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the Dutch Commander, of whom he had been asked to be the godfather, for it should be remarked that the Dutch have no clergymen save in those places where they have both merchants and soldiers together. The English clergyman had at first protested that he was unable to consent that Christians should be present at such spectacles, and when he beheld that from a piece of dry wood these people in less than half an hour had caused a tree of four or five feet in height to appear, with leaves and flowers, as in springtime, he made it his duty to break it, and proclaimed loudly that he would never administer the communion to any one of those who remained longer to witness such things. This compelled the President to dismiss the jugglers, who travel from place to place with their wives and children, like those whom we in EUROPE commonly call Egyptians or Bohemians; and having given them the equivalent of ten or twelve *écus*,[1] they withdrew very well satisfied.

Those who wish to see CAMBAY, in order to reach it, do not go out of their way for more than about five or six *coss*, or thereabouts; and when you are at BROACH, instead of going to BARODA, which is the ordinary route, you make directly for CAMBAY, from whence afterwards you reach AHMADÁBÁD. Except for business, or out of curiosity, you do not take this route, not only because it is longer, as I have said, by five or six leagues,[2] but principally on account of the danger which there is in passing the end of the gulf.

CAMBAY[3] is a large town at the end of the gulf

[1] = £2 : 5s. to £2 : 14s., at 4s. 6d. per *écu*.

[2] Here again leagues and *coss* are treated as synonymous terms.

[3] Cambaya in the original. Cambay, chief town of the State of Cambay, Province of Gujarát, Bombay Presidency, 52 miles south of Ahmadábád.

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which bears its name. It is where they cut those beautiful agates which come from INDIA as cups, handles of knives, beads, and other objects of workmanship.[1] There is made, also, in the vicinity of the town, indigo[2] of the same kind as that of SHARKEJ[3]; and it was celebrated for its traffic at the time when the Portuguese flourished in INDIA. You still see to-day, in the quarter close to the sea, many fine houses, which they built and furnished richly, after the manner of PORTUGAL; but at present they are uninhabited, and they decay from day to day. They maintained at that time such good order in CAMBAY, that at two hours after dark every street was closed by two gates, which are still to be seen, and they even now close some of the principal of them, especially those of the approaches to the market-places. One of the principal reasons why this town has lost a part of her commerce is, that formerly the sea came close to CAMBAY, and small vessels were able to approach it easily; but for some years past the sea has been receding day by day, so that vessels are unable to come nearer than four or five leagues to the town.

There is an abundance of pea-fowl in INDIA, and especially in the territories of BROACH, CAMBAY, and BARODA. The flesh of the young bird is white and of good flavour, like that of our turkeys, and you see them

[1] A full account of this industry will be found in the *Economic Geology of India*, p. 506.

[2] The cultivation of indigo has much diminished of late in that part of India.

[3] Sarquesse in the original, this is Sharkej, the Surkeja of Major Scott's Madras route map, to south-west of Ahmadábád. Tieffenthaler calls it Sarkés, *Géog. de l'Ind.*, par Bernoulli, Berlin, 1791, p. 377. See for further information *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, p. 22, *n.* (See p. 72.)

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throughout the day in flocks in the fields; for during the night they perch in the trees. It is difficult to approach them by day, because if they see the sportsman they fly before him more rapidly than a partridge, and enter the jungle, where it is impossible to follow them, one's garment being torn at every step. Hence, you are only able to capture them easily at night; and this, in a few words, is the method. You approach the tree with a kind of banner, on which are painted life-like peacocks, on each side.[1] On the top of the stick there are two lighted candles, the light of which alarming the peacock, causes him to stretch out his neck almost to the end of the stick, where there is a cord with a running noose, which he who holds the banner draws when he sees that the peacock has placed his neck in it. However, you must be careful not to kill a bird, or any other animal, in the countries of *Rajas*, where the idolaters are the masters; it is not dangerous in the parts of INDIA where the rulers of the country are Muhammadans, and permit sport to be free. It happened one day that a rich merchant of PERSIA, passing by the territory of the *Raja* of DANTIVAR,[2] slew a peacock on the road by a shot from his gun, either out of bravado or from not knowing the customs of the country. The *Banians*, enraged by an act which is regarded among them as a horrible

[1] I have seen peacocks successfully approached by day by a native sportsman, who carried before him a cloth screen, on which a rude representation of a peacock was painted. One bird actually made a charge towards the screen.

[2] Dánta, or Dántawára, a State under the Political Agency of Mahi Kántha, in the Province of Gujarát, Bombay. The Chief is a Hindu. It has been pointed out already that the Antivar of p. 37 is probably a misprint for Dantivar.

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sacrilege, seized the merchant themselves, and also the money he had with him, which amounted to 300,000 rupees, and having tied him to a tree, whipped him for three days so severely that the poor man died of it.

From CAMBAY you come to a village which is only three *coss* distant, where there is a pagoda to which the majority of the courtesans of INDIA come to make their offerings. This pagoda contains numerous nude figures, and among others a large figure like an Apollo, which has the private parts all uncovered. When the old courtesans have amassed a sum of money in their youth, they buy with it young slaves, to whom they teach dances and lascivious songs, and all the tricks of their infamous trade. When these young girls have reached the age of eleven or twelve years their mistresses take them to this pagoda, and they believe that it will be good fortune to them to be offered and abandoned to this idol.

From this pagoda to CHIIDABAD[1] it is 6 *coss*.

It is one of the most beautiful houses of the GREAT MOGUL, and a vast enclosure, where there are extensive gardens and large tanks, with all the embellishments of which the genius of the Indians is capable.

From CHIIDABAD to AHMADÁBÁD it is but 5 *coss*.

I return to BAROCHE and the ordinary route.

From BAROCHE to BROUDRA (BARODA)[2] . 22 *coss*.

BARODA is a large town on a good soil, where there is a considerable trade in calicoes.

[1] Sayyidábád? I have not found this place on any of the maps available to me.

[2] Baroda, the chief town of the territory of the Gáekwár. From Broach to Baroda, the distance measured on the map is about 48 miles.

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From BROUDRA to NERIADE (NADIAD) . 18 *coss.*
,, NERIADE to AMADABAT (AHMADÁBÁD)[1] 20 ,,

AHMADÁBÁD is one of the largest towns in INDIA, and one where there is a considerable trade in silken stuffs, gold and silver tapestries, and others mixed with silk; saltpetre, sugar, ginger, both candied and plain, tamarinds, *mirabolans*,[2] and indigo cakes, which are made at three leagues from AHMADÁBÁD, at a large town called SHARKEJ.

There was a pagoda in this place, which the Muhammadans took possession of in order to turn it into a mosque. Before entering it you traverse three great courts paved with marble, and surrounded by galleries, and you are not allowed to place foot in the third without removing your shoes. The exterior of the mosque is ornamented with mosaic, the greater part of which consists of agates of different colours, obtained from the mountains of CAMBAY, only two days' journey from thence. You see many tombs of ancient idolatrous kings, which are like so many small chapels of mosaic, with columns of marble sustaining a small vault by which the tomb is covered. A river[3] flows past AHMADÁBÁD on the north-west, and during the rainy season, which lasts in INDIA three or four months, it becomes very wide and rapid, and does great injury every year. It is the same with all the rivers of INDIA, and when the rains have ceased, one must generally wait six weeks or two months before it is possible to ford that at AHMADÁBÁD, where there is

[1] Ahmadábád, the chief town in the District of the same name, in the Province of Gujarát, Bombay Presidency. Tieffenthaler calls the town itself Guzarat.

[2] The dried unripe fruit of *Terminalia chebula*, Retz.

[3] The Sabarmati.

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no bridge. There are two or three boats, but one cannot make use of them, save when the water ceases to be so rapid, and it takes much time to cross. The peasants do not stand on ceremony, and in order to go from one bank to the other only make use of the skin of a goat,[1] which they fill with air and tie on between the chest and the abdomen. It is thus, by swimming this river, that the poor, both the men and women, cross, and when they wish to take their children across also they employ certain round earthen pots, which have mouths four fingers in width, and having placed their child in one of these pots they push it before them while swimming. This brings to mind a circumstance which happened at AHMADÁBÁD, while I was there in the year 1642,[2] which is too remarkable to pass by in silence.

A peasant and his wife were crossing the river one day in the manner I have just described, and having an infant of about two years, they placed him in one of these pots, so that only his head, which was outside, could be seen. Having reached the middle of the river, they encountered a small bank of sand where there was a large tree, which the water had carried down, and the father pushed the pot containing the infant on to this place, to rest himself a little. As he approached the foot of the tree, the trunk of which was somewhat elevated above the water, a snake came out from between the roots, and jumped into the pot where the

[1] This is the so-called *mussuck* (*mashak*, Hind.) or *deri*, consisting of the inflated skin of a goat; sometimes, as on the Sutlej, in the Himalayan regions, the skin of a buffalo is used for the same purpose.

[2] This casual reference to a date is of use as confirmation of Tavernier having been in this part of India in that year. (See Joret, *J. B. Tavernier*, Paris, 1886, p. 64.)

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infant was. The father and mother, startled by this occurrence, and having lost their wits, let the pot go, which the river carried away, and they remained some time half dead at the foot of the tree. About two leagues lower down a *Banian* and his wife, with a little child, were washing themselves in the river before going to take their meal. They beheld from afar the pot upon the water, and half the head of a child, which appeared outside the mouth. The *Banian* immediately went to rescue it, and having reached it, pushed it ashore. The woman, followed by her child, came presently to take the other which was in the pot, in order to withdraw it. And at the same moment the snake, which had done no injury to the first child, left the pot, and entwined itself about the body of the other child which was close to its mother, bit it, and injected its poison, which caused its immediate death.

This extraordinary adventure did not much distress these poor people, as they believed that it had happened by a secret dispensation of their god, who had taken from them one child in order to give another, by which they were soon consoled. Some time after, the report of this adventure having come to the ears of the first peasant, he came to the other in order to tell him how it had happened, and to demand from him his child. This caused a considerable dispute between them, the second peasant maintaining that the child was his, and that his god had given it to him in the place of the one who was dead. In a word, the matter made a great noise, and was at length laid before the King, who ordered that the infant should be returned to its father.

About the same time there happened a somewhat

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amusing matter in the same town of AHMADÁBÁD. The wife of a rich *Banian* merchant, named SAINTIDAS, not having any children, and causing it to be well known that she wished for some, an attendant of the house one day took her apart, and said to her that if she was willing to eat what he would give her, she might feel certain that she would have a child. The woman desiring to know what she ought to eat, the attendant added that it was a little fish, and that she need only eat three or four.[1] The religion of the *Banians* forbidding them, as I have elsewhere said, to eat anything which has had life, the woman was at first unable to bring herself to do that which he suggested; but the attendant having said that he knew how to disguise it so well that she would not know that what she was eating was fish, she resolved at length to try the remedy, and she lay the night following with her husband, according to the instruction she had received from the attendant. Some time after, the woman perceiving that she was *enceinte*, her husband died, and the relatives of the defunct wished to take possession of his effects. The widow objected, and told them that they should have patience till they knew if the infant which she carried would arrive safely.

The relatives, surprised by this news, which they had not expected, treated it as a lie and a joke, the woman having been fifteen or sixteen years with her husband without bearing. When she found that these people tormented her, she threw herself at the feet of the Governor, to whom she related what had

[1] In the East surprising effects are often attributed to a fish diet. See *Adjaib Al-Hind.* (*Les Merveilles de l'Inde*) for a remarkable instance. Paris, Lemere, 1878.

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happened, and he ordered that the relatives should wait till the woman was delivered of her offspring. Some days after her confinement the relatives of the defunct, who were persons of position, and who desired to have so considerable a succession, maintained that the infant was not legitimate, and that this woman had not had it by her husband. The Governor, in order to know the truth, assembled the doctors, who decided that it was necessary to take the infant to the bath, and that if the remedy which the mother had adopted was genuine, the infant would smell of fish ; this was done and the thing happened accordingly. After this experiment the Governor ordered that the effects of the defunct should be reserved for the infant, since he had been proved by this to be the father ; but the relatives, being annoyed that so good a morsel was escaping from them, appealed from this judgment, and went to AGRA to tell the King. In consequence of what they stated, his majesty caused an order to be written to the Governor that he should send the mother and the infant, to make the same experiment in his presence ; this having turned out as on the first occasion, the relatives of the defunct withdrew, and the effects were kept for the mother and infant.

I remember also another amusing thing which was told me at AHMADÁBÁD—where I have been ten or twelve times—during the sojourn which I made there on one of my journeys, on my return from DELHI.[1] A merchant with whom I often dealt, and who was much loved by SHÁISTÁ KHÁN, Governor of the Province and uncle of

[1] Joret (*J. B. Tavernier*, Paris, 1886, p. 47) supposes that this was in the early part of 1667, but says the passage is too obscure to admit of any definite conclusion.

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the King, had the reputation of never having lied. SHÁISTÁ KHÁN having completed the three years of his government, according to the custom of the Empire of the GREAT MOGUL, and AURANGZEB, son of SHÁH JAHÁN, having succeeded him, he withdrew to AGRA, where the court then was. One day, when he conversed with the King, he said that he had seen many uncommon things in all the governments with which his majesty had honoured him, but one thing alone surprised him, which was to have discovered a rich merchant who had never told a lie, and who was upwards of seventy years old. The King, surprised on his own part with so extraordinary a fact, told SHÁISTÁ KHÁN that he desired to see the man of whom he had told him, and ordered him to send him forthwith to AGRA, which was done. This much distressed the old man, both on account of the length of the road, which is from twenty-five to thirty days, and because it was necessary for him to make a present to the King. In fact, he made him one valued at 40,000 rupees, and it was a gold box for keeping *betel*, ornamented with diamonds, rubies, and emeralds. After he had saluted the King, and had made his present to him, the King merely asked his name, to which he replied that he called himself the man who had never lied. The King asking him further what his father's name was: "Sire," replied he, "I know not." His majesty, satisfied with this reply, stopped there, and, not desiring to know more, ordered them to give him an elephant, which is a great honour, and 10,000 rupees for his journey.

The *Banians* have a great veneration for monkeys, and they even feed them in some pagodas where they go to worship. There are in AHMADÁBÁD two or three

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houses which serve as hospitals,[1] especially for cows and oxen, for monkeys, and other sick and disabled animals, and they convey there all that they are able to find, in order to feed them. It should be stated that on every Tuesday and Friday all the monkeys in the neighbourhood of AHMADÁBÁD, of their own instinct, come together to the town, and ascend the houses, each of which has a small terrace where the occupants sleep during the great heat. On each of these days they do not fail to place upon these little terraces rice, millet, sugar-canes in their season, and other similar things; for if by chance the monkeys did not find their food on the terraces, they would break the tiles with which the rest of the house is covered, and cause great damage. It should be remarked that the monkey eats nothing which he has not first well smelt, and before swallowing anything he makes his store for future hunger, filling his two cheeks with provisions, which he keeps for the following day.[2]

I have said that the *Banians* have an especial veneration for the monkey, and this is an example in point among several others which I could quote. Being one day at AHMADÁBÁD, at the dwelling of the Dutch, a young man of that nation, who had arrived but a few days to serve in the office, and who was ignorant of the customs of the country, having perceived a large monkey upon a tree which was in the courtyard, wished to give an example of his skill, or rather of his youth, by slaying it with a shot from his gun. I was at the time at table with the Dutch Commander,

[1] Hospitals for sick animals are still to be found in some of the towns of Western India.

[2] The retention of food in the pouch only lasts for a short time, I believe.

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and we had scarcely heard the shot before we heard a great uproar among the *Banians* in the service of the Dutch Company, who came to complain bitterly of him who had slain the monkey. They all wished to resign, and it was with much trouble and many apologies that they appeased them and induced them to remain.

In the neighbourhood of AHMADÁBÁD there are a great number of monkeys, and it may be said that in the places where there are many of these animals there are few crows. For when the latter have built their nests and laid their eggs, the monkeys climb the trees and throw the eggs down on the ground. One day, returning from AGRA, and having left AHMADÁBÁD with the Chief or President of the English, who had come there for some business, and was returning to SURAT, we passed, at four or five leagues from AHMADÁBÁD, a small grove of those trees which they call *mangoes*. We saw overhead numbers of large monkeys, male and female, and several of the latter carried their young ones in their arms. We each had our carriage, and the English President stopped his in order to tell me that he had an excellent and curious gun which the Governor of DAMAN had presented to him, and, knowing that I was a good shot, he asked me to prove it upon one of these monkeys. One of my attendants, who was of the country, having signed to me not to risk it, I sought to dissuade the President from his intention, but it was impossible, and taking his gun he slew a female monkey, which remained extended between two branches, letting her young ones fall to the ground. There followed at once what my attendant, who had signed to me, had foreseen. All the monkeys which were on the trees, to the number

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of more than sixty, descended immediately, in a rage, and jumped on the carriage of the President, and would have strangled him, but for the prompt assistance that some gave by closing the windows, and the crowd of attendants who were present drove them off. Although they did not come to my carriage, which followed at some paces distant from that of the President, I nevertheless feared for myself the fury of these monkeys, which were both large and powerful, and they pursued the carriage of the President for nearly a league, so much were they enraged.

Continuing our route from SURAT to AGRA.

From AMADABAT to PANSER (PAUNSIR) . 13 *coss.*
„ PANSER to MASANA (MESÁNA) . . 14 „
„ MASANA to CHITPOUR (SIDHPUR)[1] . 14 „

SIDHPUR is a fairly good town, so named on account of the great trade which it does in those coloured cottons which they call *chites*,[2] and at four or five hundred paces on the south side there flows a small river. Arriving at SIDHPUR, on one of my journeys, I was encamped under two or three trees at one of the ends of a great open space which is near the town. A short time afterwards I saw four or five lions[3] appearing, which they brought to train, and they told me it generally took five or six months, and they do it in this way. They tie the lions, at twelve paces distance

[1] Sidhpur. Chitpour is given on the map in Bernier's *History*.

[2] *Chites* (see p. 56 and Index), from Mahr. *chit* and Port. *chita* = chintz.

[3] It is very probable that these were true lions, and not *chetahs*, or hunting leopards, as lions are known to have been so tamed, and the region is one in which they may very possibly have been obtained. In a recent number of the *Graphic* there was a representation of a tamed lion being led by hand through the crowded bazaar of a Moorish town.

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from each other, by their hind feet, to a cord attached to a large wooden post firmly planted in the ground, and they have another about the neck which the lion-master holds in his hand. These posts are planted in a straight line, and upon another parallel one, from fifteen to twenty paces distant, they stretch another cord of the length of the space which the lions occupy, when arranged as above. These two cords which hold the lion fastened by his two hind feet, permit him to rush up to this long cord, which serves as a limit to those outside it, beyond which they ought not to venture to pass when harassing and irritating the lions by throwing small stones or little bits of wood at them. A number of people come to this spectacle, and when the provoked lion jumps towards the cord, he has another round his neck which the master holds in his hand, and with which he pulls him back. It is by this means that they accustom the lion by degrees to become tame with people, and on my arrival at SIDHPUR I witnessed this spectacle without leaving my carriage.

The following day I had another experience, which was a meeting I had with a party of *Fakirs*, or Muhammadan *Dervishes*.[1] I counted fifty-seven of them, of whom he who was their Chief or Superior had been master of the horse to SHÁH JAHÁNGIR,[2] having left the court when Sultan BOLÁKI, his grandson, was strangled by order of SHÁH JAHÁN, his uncle, as I shall relate elsewhere. There were four others who, under the Superior, were Chiefs of the band, and had been the first nobles of the court of the same SHÁH JAHÁN. The only garment of these five *Dervishes* consisted of three

[1] Dervichs in original, for Dervishes.

[2] Cha Gehan guir in original, for Shah Jahángír.

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or four ells of orange-coloured cotton cloth, of which they made waistbands, one of the ends passing between the thighs and being tucked between the top of the waistband and the body of the *Dervish*, in order to cover what modesty requires should be concealed, both in front and behind. Each of them had also a skin of a tiger upon the shoulders, which was tied under the chin. They had eight fine horses, saddled and bridled, led by hand before them, three of which had bridles of gold and saddles covered with plates of gold; and the five others had bridles of silver, and the saddles also covered with plates of silver, and a leopard's skin on each. The other *Dervishes* had for their sole garment a cord, which served as a waistband, to which there was attached a small scrap of calico to cover, as in the case of the others, the parts which should be concealed. Their hair was bound in a tress about their heads, and made a kind of turban. They were all well armed, the majority with bows and arrows, some with muskets, and the remainder with short pikes, and a kind of weapon which we have not got in Europe. It is a sharp iron, made like the border of a plate which has no centre, and they pass eight or ten over the head, carrying them on the neck like a ruff.[1] They withdraw these circles as they require to use them, and when they throw them with force at a man, as we make a plate to fly, they almost cut him in two. Each of them had also a sort of hunting horn, which he sounds, and makes a great noise with when he arrives anywhere, and also when he departs, and also a rake, or instrument of

[1] These are the *chakars*, thin sharp-edged metal quoits, which can be flung with marvellous accuracy and effect against an enemy. The Sikhs are especially proficient in their use.

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iron, made something like a trowel. It is with this instrument, which the Indians generally carry in their journeys, that they rake and level the places where they wish to halt, and some, having collected the dust in a heap, make use of it as a mattress and bolster in order to lie more comfortably. There were three of these *Dervishes* armed with long rapiers, which they had received, apparently, from some Englishman or Portuguese. Their baggage consisted of four boxes full of Arabian and Persian books and some cooking utensils, and they had ten or twelve oxen to carry those among the troop who were invalids. When these *Dervishes* arrived at the place where I was encamped with my carriage, having then with me fifty persons, both people of the country, whom one engages, as I have said, for travelling, as also my ordinary servants, the Chief or Superior of the troop, seeing me well accompanied, inquired who that *Aga*[1] was; and asked me subsequently to give up to him the position I occupied, it being more commodious than any other about the place for camping with his *Dervishes*. As they informed me of the quality of this Chief and the four *Dervishes* who followed him, I was willing to do them a civility, and to yield that which they asked with a good grace; and so I ceded the place to them, and took another which suited me as well as it. Immediately the place was watered with a quantity of water, and made smooth and level, and, as it was winter and was somewhat cold, they lighted two fires for the five principal *Dervishes*, who placed themselves between them in order to warm themselves both before and behind. During the same evening, after they had supped, the Governor of the town came

[1] *Agha*, Hind. and Pers., means lord or master.

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to pay his respects to these principal *Dervishes*, and during their sojourn in the place sent them rice and other things which they were accustomed to eat. When they arrive in any place the Superior sends some of them to beg in the towns and villages, and whatever food they bring, which is given them out of charity, is immediately distributed to all in equal portions, each being particular to cook his own rice for himself. Whatever they have over is given every evening to the poor, and they reserve nothing for the following day.

From CHITPOUR to BALAMBOUR (PÁLANPUR) . 12 *coss.*
„ BALAMBOUR to DANTIUAR (DÁNTAWÁRA)[1] 11 „
„ DANTIUAR to BARGANT (WUNGÁON ?) . 17 „

BARGANT[2] is the territory of a *Raja*, where one has to pay customs. On one of my journeys to AGRA, when passing by BARGANT, I did not see the *Raja*, but only his lieutenant, who treated me with great civility, and presented me with rice, butter, and fruits of the season. In return I gave him three waistbands of calico, gold, and silk, and four handkerchiefs of coloured cotton, and two bottles, one of brandy and the other of Spanish wine. On my departure he ordered me to be escorted for 4 or 5 *coss* by twenty horsemen.

When returning from the same journey I sent before me my heavier goods by waggon, and to shorten the road I purposed to repass by the same route. I had with me sixty *Peons* or people of the country, and seven or eight attendants who ordinarily waited on me. One evening, being encamped on the frontiers of

[1] Dánta, or Dántawára, the chief town of the State of the same name (see p. 70, *n.*) It is 136 miles north of Baroda. The Antivar of p. 37 is apparently the same place.

[2] Probably the same as Bergam, on p. 37, *n.*, the proper name may perhaps be Wungáon, in Jodhpúr.

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the territory of the *Raja* of BARGANT, all my *Peons*[1] assembled about me in order to tell me that by taking the route through BARGANT we should run the risk of being all strangled, and that the Prince of that country spared no one, and lived by robbery alone. That at the least, if I did not engage one hundred other *Peons*, there was no possibility of escaping the hands of the runners, whom he would send from both sides, and that they were obliged, as much for my safety as their own, to give me this advice. I spent some time disputing with them, and reproaching them with their cowardice; but from fear lest they should not also reproach me for my temerity, I resolved to employ fifty more, and they went to search for them in the neighbouring villages. For traversing the territories of the *Raja* during three days, only, they asked four rupees each, which is as much as one gives them for a month. On the following day, when I wished to start, my *Peons*, showing themselves to be obstructive and irresolute, came to tell me that they would leave me, and that they did not wish to risk their lives, asking me not to write to their Chief at AGRA, who was answerable for their not leaving me against my wish. There were three of my personal servants who also treated me as the others had done, and there remained with me he who led my horse, my coachman, and three other attendants only, with whom I started under the protection of God, who has always particularly aided me in my journeys. At about a *coss* from the place from whence I started I perceived, on turning round, some of these *Peons*, who followed me at a distance. Having

[1] *Pion* in the original for *Peon*, Port., a foot soldier; whence the name "pawn" in chess.

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ordered my carriage to stop to await them, I told the first who advanced that if they wished to come with me they should march around my carriage and not follow at a distance; and seeing them to be still timid and irresolute, I said that I did not require cowards in my service, and dismissed them for the last time. When I had travelled another *coss*, I perceived on the side of a mountain about fifty horsemen, of whom four separated to advance towards me. Immediately when I saw them I got out of the carriage, and having thirteen firearms, I gave a gun to each of my people. The horsemen approaching, I placed the carriage between them and me, and got ready to fire, in case they prepared to attack me. But they at once made me a sign that I had nothing to fear, and one of them having said that it was the Prince who was hunting, and who had sent them to ask what stranger passed through his territory, I replied I was the same *Frank*[1] who had passed five or six weeks previously. By good fortune, the same lieutenant of the *Raja*, to whom I had presented the brandy and Spanish wine, followed close behind these four horsemen, and after having assured me how rejoiced he was to see me again, asked me forthwith if I had any wine. I told him that I never travelled without it; and in fact I was provided, the English and Dutch having presented me at AGRA with several bottles. Immediately on the lieutenant returning to the *Raja*, he himself came to meet me, and assuring me that I was welcome, told me that he wished me to halt at a place which he indicated under certain trees, a *coss* and a half from where we were, and that he would not fail to come to drink with me. He came towards evening, and we

[1] *Franguy* in the original.

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remained there two days together to amuse ourselves; the *Raja* having caused the *Baladines*[1] to come, without whom the Persians and Indians do not think they can enjoy themselves properly. On my departure, the *Raja* gave me two hundred horsemen to accompany me for three whole days to the frontiers of his country, and I was quitted for three or four pounds of tobacco, which was all the present I made them. When I arrived at AHMADÁBÁD it was scarcely believed that I had received such good treatment from a Prince who had the reputation of ill-treating all strangers who passed through his country.

From BARGANT to BIMAL (BHEENMÁL) 15 *coss.*
„ BIMAL to MODRA (MODRÁ) . 15 „
„ MODRA to CHALAOUR (JÁLOR) . 10 „

JÁLOR[2] is an ancient town upon a mountain surrounded with walls, and difficult of access; formerly it was a strong place. There is a tank on the top of the mountain, and another below, between which and the foot of the mountain is the road to the town.

From CHALAOUR to CANTAP (KHANDAP) 12 *coss.*
„ CANTAP to SETLANA (SUTULÁNA) . 15 „
„ SETLANA to PALAVASENY (?) . . 14 „
„ PALAVASENY to PIPARS (PIPÁR) . 11 „
„ PIPARS to MIRDA (MERTÁ) . . 16 „

[1] *Baladines*, from the Portuguese *Baladeira;* the more usual form is *Bayadère* among authors; but it is never heard, and is practically unknown in India, as a name for *Náchnis* or dancing girls. (See Yule and Burnell, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, s.v. *Bayadère*, for examples of its use.)

[2] Jálor, a town in the State of Jodhpur or Marwár in Rájputána. The fort, 800 yards long by 400 yards wide, is on an eminence 1200 feet high, and commands the town. It is of considerable strength, and still contains two tanks.

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From DÁNTAWÁRA to MERTÁ it is three days' journey,[1] and it is a mountainous country belonging to semi-independent *Rajas* or Princes, who pay some tribute to the GREAT MOGUL. But in return, the GREAT MOGUL appoints them to important posts in his armies, from which they derive much more than the tribute which they are obliged to pay him.

MERTÁ[2] is a large town, but badly built. When I arrived there, during one of my journeys in India, all the *caravansaráis* were full of people, because the aunt of SHÁH JAHÁN, wife of SHÁISTÁ KHÁN, was then on her way, taking her daughter to marry her to SULTAN SHUJÁ, second son of SHÁH JAHÁN. I was obliged to order my tent[3] to be pitched upon a bank where there were large trees on both sides, and two hours afterwards I was much surprised to see fifteen or twenty elephants, which came to break off as much as they could of these great trees. It was a strange thing to see them break large branches with their trunks, as we break a piece of faggot.[4] This injury was done by order of the Begum to avenge herself of an affront by the inhabitants of MERTÁ, who had not received her, and had not made a present as they ought to have done.

From MIRDA to BORONDA (BARUNDÁ) . 12 *coss.*
,, BORONDA to COETCHIEL (?) . . 18 ,,

[1] This statement is somewhat inconsistent with the route given, which represents 9 stages and 125 *coss.*

[2] Mertá or Mirtá in Jodhpur, is situated on high ground, and is surrounded by a wall, partly of masonry and partly of clay. It contains numerous temples and a mosque.

[3] This is the obvious meaning, *tante* being in the original a misprint for *tente.*

[4] The *mahouts* of the present day sometimes, for similar reasons, make their elephants do injuries of this kind. (See p. 59.)

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From COETCHIEL to BANDER-SONNERY (BANDAR-SINDRI) . . . 14 *coss.*
,, BANDER-SONNERY to LADONA (LUDÁNÁ)[1] 16 ,,
,, LADONA TOWN to CHASOU (CHAKSU) 12 ,,
,, CHASOU to NUALI (LAWÁLI?) . . 17 ,,
,, NUALI to HINDOO (HINDAUN)[2] . 19 ,,
,, HINDOO to BANIANA (BIÁNÁ)[3] . 10 ,,

These two last places are towns where, as in all the surrounding country, round indigo cake is made, and being the best of all the varieties of indigo it is also twice as dear.

From BANIANA to VETTAPOUR (FATEHPUR SIKRI),[4] 14 *coss.*

FATEHPUR SIKRI is a very old town where they make woollen carpets.

From VETTAPOUR to AGRA . . . 12 *coss.*
,, SURAT to AGRA there are in all 415 ,,

If one were able to make regular stages of 13 *coss* each, he would accomplish the journey in thirty-three days; but, since one rests and halts in certain places, the journey lasts generally from thirty-five to forty days.

[1] Ludáná, or Ladoná on Bandi river in Jaipur, Rájputána.

[2] Hindaun, in Jaipur State, 71 miles from Agra. Once an extensive city, but the ramparts are now in ruins.

[3] Biáná, in Bhartpur State, Rájputána. It is 50 miles south-west of Agra. It is of great antiquity, and among remains of large buildings there is a stone pillar, *Bhim lat.* The Emperor Bábar described it in 1526 as being one of the most famous forts in India. It is a place of great sanctity in the eyes of Muhammadans. See Cunningham, *Archæol. Reports*, vol ii, p. 54; vi, p. 50; xx, p. 61.

[4] Vettapour, *i.e.*, Fatehpur Sikri, 23 miles from Agra and 26 from Biáná. See Book II, chap. xii.

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CHAPTER VI

Route from ISPAHAN *to* AGRA *by* KANDAHÁR.[1]

I HAVE given an exact description of a part of this route, and I have conducted the reader as far as KANDAHÁR.[2] It remains for me now to take him from KANDAHÁR to AGRA, to which one can go by two routes only, either by KÁBUL or by MULTÁN. This last is shorter than the other by ten days, but the caravan scarcely ever takes it, because from KANDAHÁR to MULTÁN there is nothing but deserts almost all the way, and because one marches sometimes for three or four days without finding water. Hence the most common and the most beaten track is by KÁBUL. From KANDAHÁR to KÁBUL they count it 24 stages; from KÁBUL to LAHORE, 22; from LAHORE to DELHI or JAHÁNÁBÁD, 18; and from DELHI to AGRA, 6: this, with the 60 stages from ISPAHAN to FARAH,[3] and the 20 from FARAH to KANDAHÁR, make in all, from ISPAHAN to AGRA, 150 stages. But those merchants who have urgent business sometimes join in parties of three or four on horseback, and accomplish the journey in half the time, that is to say in 60 or 75 days.

MULTÁN[4] is a town where quantities of calicoes are made, and they used to carry them all to TATTA before

[1] Candahar in original. See p. 4.

[2] *Persian Travels*, Bk. V, chap. xxiv, p. 693, Fr. ed., 4to. 1676.

[3] Farat in the original. [4] Multán, on the Chenáb river.

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the sands had obstructed the mouth of the river; but since the passage has been closed for large vessels they carry them to AGRA, and from AGRA to SURAT, as well as a portion of the goods which are made at LAHORE. As this carriage is very expensive, but few merchants go to make investments either at MULTÁN or LAHORE, and indeed many of the artisans have deserted; this also causes the revenues of the King to be much diminished in these provinces. MULTÁN is the place from whence migrate all the *Banians* who come to trade in PERSIA, where they follow the same occupation as the Jews, as I have elsewhere said, and they surpass them in their usury. They have a special law which permits them on certain days to eat fowls, and to take only one wife between two or three brothers, of whom the eldest is regarded as the father of the children.

Numerous *Baladins* and *Baladines*, who hail from this town, spread themselves in divers parts of PERSIA.

I come to the route from KANDAHAR to AGRA by KABUL and LAHORE.

From CANDAHAR to CHARISAFAR (SHAHR-I-SAFÁ)[1] 10 *coss.*
,, CHARISAFAR to ZELATÉ (KALÁT-I-GHILZÁI) 12 ,,
,, ZELATÉ to BETAZY (AB-I-TÁZI) . . 8 ,,
,, BETAZY to MEZOUR (MANSUR) . . 6 ,,
,, MEZOUR to CARABAT (KÁRÁBÁGH) . . 17 ,,
,, CARABAT to CHAKENICOUZÉ (SHIGÁNU ?) . 17 ,,

Between KANDAHÁR and CHAKENICOUZÉ,[2] on the

[1] Shahr-i-safá = city of purity. (See Macgregor's *Central Asia*, p. 672, and Baber's *Memoirs by Erskine*, p. 226.)

[2] Colonel Yule suggests that this may have been the Shigánu of Broadfoot and Sekaneh of Baber's *Memoirs by Erskine*, p. 220. If not identical with Ghazni, it was probably in or near its latitude. Ghazni is 85 miles south-west of Kábul, and 145 miles north-east of Kalát-i-Ghilzái.

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frontier of INDIA, there is a country where many small Chiefs rule and render some allegiance to the KING OF PERSIA.

From CHAKENICOUZÉ to CÁBOUL (KÁBUL) 40 *coss*.[1]

In these forty *coss* of road you only find three poor villages, where they have seldom got bread and barley for the horses, and the safest plan is to carry a supply with you. In the months of July and August a hot wind prevails in these quarters, which suffocates and kills suddenly, being of the same kind as the wind of which I have spoken in my accounts of PERSIA, which prevails also in certain seasons near BABYLON and MOSUL.

KÁBUL is a large town, fairly well fortified, and it is there the people of USBEK[2] come every year to sell their horses; they estimate that the trade in them amounts annually to more than 60,000.[3] They take there from PERSIA also, many sheep and other cattle, and it is the great meeting-place for TARTARY, INDIA, and PERSIA. You can obtain wine there, and articles of food are very cheap.

Before passing further it is necessary to note here a curious fact concerning the people called *Augans*,[4] who inhabit (the country) from KANDAHÁR to KÁBUL, towards the mountains of BALCH,[5] and are powerful men, and great thieves at night. It is the custom

[1] The total distance here given from Kandahar to Kábul is 110 *coss*. The distance in miles is 318, which would indicate a *coss* of 3 miles nearly. Tieffenthaler gives the stages from Kábul to Ghazni as follows: —Kabul to Argandi (Urghandi) 12 *milles*, thence to Jadussia 12 *milles*, thence to Scheschgaon (Shashgáo) 12 *milles*, thence to Gasni (Ghazni) 10 *milles*, total 46 *milles*. (*Geog. de l'Ind.*, Bernoulli, Berlin, 1791, p. 69.)

[2] For Tartars of Turkestan. [3] Rupees? [4] Afgháns.

[5] Balkh, an ancient city of Turkestan, south of the Oxus.

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of these Indians to clean and scrape the tongue every morning with a small curved piece of a particular root. This causes them to throw up a quantity of foul matter, and excites them to vomit. And those who inhabit the country on these frontiers of PERSIA and INDIA practice the same thing, nevertheless they vomit but little in the morning; but instead, when they take their meals, as soon as they have eaten two or three mouthfuls, their heart is disturbed, and they are obliged to vomit, after which they return to eat with appetite. If they do not do so they only live to the age of thirty years, and they become dropsical.

From CABOUL to BARIABÉ (BARIKÁB)[1]	.	19	*coss.*
,, BARIABÉ to NIMÉLA (NIMLABÁGH)	.	17	,,
,, NIMÉLA to ALYBOUA (ALIBAGHÁN and ILÁHIBAGHÁ, in Akbar's time)	.	19	,,
,, ALYBOUA to TAKA (DAKKA)	. .	17	,,
,, TAKA to KIEMRY (KHÁIBARI?)	.	6	,,
,, KIEMRY to CHAOUR (PESHÁWUR)[2]	.	14	,,
,, CHAOUR to NOVÌCHAAR (NOWSHERA)		14	,,
,, NOVÌCHAAR to ATEK (ATTOCK)[3]	.	19	,,

[1] I am informed by Col. Yule that Barikáb is often mentioned by writers (Baber's *Memoirs by Erskine*, pp. 275, 278, 290, and Moorcroft, ii, p. 373). There are caves hollowed in a bank there for the accommodation of travellers (Vigne, *Narrative of a Visit to Ghuzni, etc.*, 1840, pp. 239-240).

[2] Tieffenthaler mentions two three-day itineraries between Peshawur and Attock as follows, the total distance being 30 so-called Indian *milles*—Peschaver to Schahabad 6 *milles*, to Akora 12 miles, to Attak 12 *milles*. The second is more detailed: Peschaver to Djouigousar 3 miles, Djouigousar to Schahabad 4 *milles*, Schahabad to Noschera (Nowshera) 8 miles, Noschera to Gìrdab 4 *milles*, Girdab to Akora 4 *milles*, Akora to Neri 4 *milles*, Neri to Kherabad 3 *milles*, thence across the Indus to Attak. (*Geog. de l'Indoustan*, par J. Bernoulli, Berlin, 1791.)

[3] Attock is situated near the junction of the Indus and Kábul rivers.

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ATTOCK is a town situated on a promontory where two great rivers meet. It is one of the best fortresses of the GREAT MOGUL, and they do not permit any stranger to enter it if he does not hold a passport from the King. The Reverend Jesuit Father ROUX, and his companion, wishing to go by this route to ISPAHAN, and not having obtained a passport from the King, were sent back from thence, and returned to LAHORE, where they embarked upon the river to go to SIND, from whence they passed into PERSIA.

From ATEK to CALAPANÉ (KÁLÁ KI SARÁÍ?)	16	*coss.*
,, CALAPANÉ to ROUPATÉ (RAWÁT)[1] .	16	,,
,, ROUPATÉ to TOULAPÉCA (TULPURI) .	16	,,
,, TOULAPÉCA to KERALY (KARIÁLÁ or SARÁI ALAMGIR)	19	,,
,, KERALY to ZERABAD (WAZIRÁBÁD) .	16	,,
,, ZERABAD to IMIABAD (EMINÁBÁD)[2] .	18	,,
,, IMIABAD to LAHOR (LAHORE) . .	18	,,

LAHORE is the capital of a kingdom, and is built on one of the five rivers[3] which descend from the mountains of the north to go to swell the INDUS, and give the name of PENJAB[4] to all the region which they water. This river at the present day flows at a quarter of a league distant from the town, being liable to change its bed, and the neighbouring fields often sustain much damage from its great overflowings. The town is

[1] It has been suggested to me by Mr. A. B. Wynne, who knows this country well, that Roupate should be identified with Rawát, near the Manikyálá *tope*, 16 miles south of Rawalpindi. It is the Seraie Roobat of Elphinstone's map, probably derived from the Arabic *ribát* or *robát* a caravansarái.

[2] Eminábád is 32 miles south of Lahore.

[3] Lahore on the Rávi.

[4] Penj-ab = *Panj áb*, Pers., 5 waters or rivers—the Panjáb.

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large, and extends more than a *coss* in length, but the greater part of the houses, which are higher than those of AGRA and DELHI, are falling into ruins, the excessive rains having overthrown a large number. The palace of the King is rather fine, and is no longer, as it was formerly, on the margin of the river, which has withdrawn, as I have said, about a quarter of a league. One can obtain wine at LAHORE.[1]

I shall remark, *en passant*, that after leaving LAHORE, and the kingdom of KASHMIR which adjoins it on the north, all the women are naturally unprovided with hair on any part of the body,[2] and the men have very little of it on the chin.

From	LAHOR to MENAT-KAN (AMÁNAT KHÁN)	12 *coss.*
,,	MENAT-KAN to FATY-ABAD (FATEHPUR)	15 ,,
,,	FATY-ABAD to SERA-DAKAN (DEKHÁN) .	15 ,,
,,	SERA-DAKAN TO SERA-BALOUR (PHILLÁUR)	15 ,,
,,	SERA-BALOUR to SERA-DOURAI (DOURÁHÁI)	12 ,,
,,	SERA-DOURAI to SERINDE (SIRHIND) .	17 ,,
,,	SERINDE TOWN to SERA MOGOUL (MOGULSARÁI)	15 ,,
,,	SERA MOGOUL to SERA CHABAS (SHÁHÁBÁD)	14 ,,
,,	SERA CHABAS to DIRAURIL (TARÁWARI)	17 ,,
,,	DIRAURIL to SERA-CRINDAL (KURNÁL)	14 ,,

[1] No inconsiderable recommendation in the eyes of Tavernier, who makes frequent references to the wine which he carried with him on his journeys, and with which he delighted to entertain his friends.

[2] Our author does not intend, I suppose, to convey that they have none on their heads.

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From SERA-CRINDAL to GINENAOUR (GANNAUR) 21 *coss.*
,, GINENAOUR to DEHLY (DELHI) . . 24 ,,

Before proceeding further it should be remarked that nearly all the way from LAHORE to DELHI, and from DELHI to AGRA, is like a continuous avenue planted throughout with beautiful trees on both sides, which is very pleasant to the view;[1] but in some places they have been allowed to perish, and the people have not taken care to plant others.

DELHI is a large town, near the river JUMNA,[2] which runs from north to south, then from west to east, and after having passed AGRA and KADIOUE,[3] loses itself in the GANGES. Since SHÁH JAHÁN has caused the new town of JAHÁNÁBÁD to be built, to which he has given his name, and where he preferred to reside rather than at AGRA, because the climate is more temperate, DELHI has become much broken down and is nearly all in ruins, only sufficient of it remaining standing to afford a habitation to the poor. There are narrow streets and houses of bamboo as in all INDIA, and there are but three or four nobles of the court who reside at DELHI, in great enclosures, in which they have their tents pitched. It is also where the Reverend Jesuit Father who was at the court had his dwelling.

JAHÁNÁBÁD, like DELHI, is a great straggling town, and a simple wall separates them. All the houses of

[1] On the map which accompanies the French edition of 1713 this avenue is represented.

[2] Delhi, on the Jumna, here Gemna, and elsewhere spelt Gemené. The distance from Gannaur, or Gunour of the Atlas Sheet, is only about 36 miles.

[3] Kadioue. Can this mean Etáwah? I am not aware whether any other author has mentioned this name, and think it probable that it was due to some mistake in catching the true sound. In chap. VIII, p. 113, Estanja appears, however, to represent Etáwah.

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private persons are large enclosures, in the middle of which is the dwelling, so that no one can approach the place where the women are shut up. The greater part of the nobles do not live in the town, but have their houses outside, so as to be near the water. When entering JAHÁNÁBÁD from the DELHI side, a long and wide street is to be seen, where, on both sides, there are arches under which the merchants carry on their business, and overhead there is a kind of platform. This street leads to the great square, where the King's palace is; and there is another very straight and wide one, which leads to the same square near another gate of the palace, in which there are the houses of the principal merchants who keep no shops.

The King's palace is a good half league in circuit. The walls are of fine cut stone, with battlements, and at every tenth battlement there is a tower. The fosses are full of water and are lined with cut stone. The principal gate of the palace has nothing magnificent about it, nor has the first court, where the nobles are permitted to enter on their elephants.

From this court one enters a long and wide passage which has on both sides handsome porticoes, under which there are many small chambers where some of the horse-guards lodge. These porticoes are elevated about two feet from the ground, and the horses, which are fastened to rings outside, take their feed on the edge. In certain places there are large doors which lead to different apartments, as to that of the women, and to the quarter where justice is administered. In the middle of this passage there is a channel full of water, which leaves a good roadway on either side, and forms little basins at equal distances. This long passage

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leads to a large court where the *Omrahs*,[1] *i.e.* the great nobles of the kingdom, like the *Bachas*[2] in TURKEY, and the *Kháns* in PERSIA, constitute the bodyguard. There are low chambers around this court for their use, and their horses are tethered outside their doors.

From this second court a third is entered by a large gate, by the side of which there is, as it were, a small room raised two or three feet from the ground. It is where the royal wardrobe is kept, and from whence the *khil'at*[3] is obtained whenever the King wishes to honour a stranger or one of his subjects. A little further on, over the same gate, is the place where the drums, trumpets, and hautboys are kept, which are heard some moments before the King enters his throne of justice, to give notice to the *Omrahs*, and again when the King is about to rise. When entering this third court you face the *divan* where the King gives audience. It is a grand hall elevated some four feet above the ground floor, and open on three sides. Thirty-two marble columns sustain as many arches, and these columns are about four feet square with their pedestals and some mouldings. When SHÁH JAHÁN commenced the building of this hall he intended that it should be enriched throughout by wonderful works in mosaic, like those in the chapel of the Grand Duke in ITALY; but having made a trial upon two or three pillars to the height of

[1] *Omerahs* and *Omrahs* in the original for *Umara*, Arb. Pl. of *Amir*. (See Yule and Burnell, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, s.v.)

[2] *Bachas* for *Pachas*. Chardin quaintly says of the two modes of spelling that *bacha* means Head of the King; and *pacha*, Feet of the King. (*Voyages*, Amsterdam, ed. 1711, vol. i, p. 35.) The true explanation being, as Colonel Yule informs me, that as Arabic has no p, they have substituted b, which the Turks have adopted.

[3] *Khil'at*. (See p. 20.)

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two or three feet, he considered that it would be impossible to find enough stones for so considerable a design, and that moreover it would cost an enormous sum of money; this compelled him to stop the work, contenting himself with a representation of different flowers.

In the middle of this hall, and near the side overlooking the court, as in a theatre, they place the throne when the King comes to give audience and to render justice. It is a small bed of the size of our camp beds, with its four columns, the canopy, the back, a bolster, and counterpane; all of which are covered with diamonds.

When the King takes his seat, however, they spread on the bed a cover of gold brocade, or of some other rich quilted stuff, and he ascends it by three small steps of two feet in length. On one side of the bed there is a parasol elevated on a handle of the length of a short pike,[1] and to each column of the bed is attached one of the King's weapons, to one his shield, to another his sword, next his bow, his quiver, and his arrows, and other things of that nature.

There is in the court below the throne a space twenty feet square, surrounded by balustrades, which at certain times are covered with plates of silver, and at others with plates of gold. It is at the four corners of this space that the four Secretaries of State are seated, who for civil as well as criminal matters also fulfil the *rôles* of advocates. Several nobles place themselves around the balustrade, and here also the music is located, which is heard while the King is in the divan. This music is sweet and pleasant, and makes so little

[1] *Demi pique* in the original.

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noise that it does not disturb the thoughts from the serious occupations with which they are engaged. When the King is seated on his throne, some great noble stands by him, most frequently his own children. Between eleven o'clock and noon the *Nawáb*,[1] who is the first Minister of State, like the Grand *Vizir* in Turkey, comes to make a report of whatever has passed in the chamber where he presides, which is at the entry of the first court, and when he has finished speaking, the King rises. But it must be remarked that from the time the King seats himself on his throne till he rises, no one, whosoever he may be, is allowed to leave the palace; though I am bound to say that the King was pleased to exempt me from this rule, which is general for every one—and here, in a few words, is how it occurred.

Wishing one day, while the King was in the *divan*, to leave the palace on urgent business, which could not by any means be deferred, the Captain of the guard caught me by the arm, and told me roughly that I should not pass out. I argued with him some time, but at length, seeing that he would treat me with violence, I put my hand to my *canjare*,[2] and would have struck him in the rage I was in if three or four guards, who saw my action, had not restrained me. Happily for me the *Nawáb*, who was uncle of the King, passed at the moment, and being informed of the subject of our quarrel, ordered the Captain of the guards to let me go out. He reported to the King in due course how the matter had occurred, and in the evening the *Nawáb*

[1] Nabab in original, for Nawáb.

[2] *Canjare* for *Khanjar*, Hind., a kind of dagger. (See Book II, chap. xxiv.)

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sent one of his people to tell me that his majesty had notified that I might enter and leave the palace as I pleased while he was in the *divan*, for which I went on the following day to thank the *Nawáb*.

Towards the middle of the same court there is a small channel which is about six inches wide, where, while the King is on his seat of justice, all strangers who come to the audience must stop. They are not allowed to pass it without being called, and even ambassadors themselves are not exempted from this rule. When an ambassador has arrived at the channel, the officer in charge of the introductions calls out towards the *divan*, where the King is seated, that such an ambassador wishes to speak to his majesty. Then a Secretary of State repeats it to the King, who very often does not appear to hear, but some time after he lifts his eyes, and throwing them upon the ambassador, makes through the same Secretary a sign that he may approach.

From the hall of the *divan* you pass on the left to a terrace from whence you see the river, and from thence the King enters a small chamber from which he passes into his harem. It was in this little chamber where I had my first audience with his majesty, as I shall elsewhere relate.

To the left of this same court where the *divan* is, there is a small well-built mosque, the dome of which is entirely covered by lead, and so thoroughly well gilt that some indeed believe that the whole is of massive gold. This is where the King goes daily to pray, save on Friday, when he goes to the Grand Mosque, which is very magnificent, and is situate on a lofty platform higher than the houses of the town, and it is

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ascended by many grand flights of stairs. On the day upon which the King goes to the mosque, a large net of five or six feet in height is stretched round these stairs from fear lest the elephants might approach them, and out of the respect with which the mosque is regarded.

The right side of the court is occupied by porticoes which form a long gallery, elevated about half a foot above the ground, and it is the whole extent of these porticoes which constitute the King's stables, which one may enter by several doors. They are always full of very fine horses, the least valuable of which has cost 3000 *écus*, and there are some which are worth up to 10,000 *écus*. In front of each door of the stables there is hung a kind of screen made of bamboos split like our osiers; but, unlike the way in which we weave our little twigs of osier with osier itself, the bamboo is woven with twisted silk which represents flowers, and the work is very tedious and requires much patience. These screens serve to prevent the flies from tormenting the horses, but that is not considered sufficient, for two grooms are appointed to each horse, one of whom is generally occupied in fanning it. There are also screens stretched before the porticoes, as before the doors of the stables, and they are lowered and elevated according to necessity; and the floor of the gallery is covered with beautiful carpets, which are taken up in the evening in order to spread the bedding of the horses. This bedding is made of the horse's own droppings dried in the sun, and afterwards somewhat crushed. The horses imported into INDIA, whether from PERSIA or ARABIA, or the country of the Usbeks, have a complete change of food, for in INDIA

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they are given neither hay nor oats. Each horse receives for its portion in the morning two or three balls made of wheaten flour and butter, of the size of our penny rolls. There is much difficulty in accustoming them to this kind of food, and often four or five months pass before it can be accomplished. The groom is obliged to hold the horse's tongue in one hand, and with the other he has to force the ball down the throat. In the sugar-cane or millet season they are given some of them at mid-day; and in the evening, an hour or two before sunset, they receive a measure of chick-peas which the groom has crushed between two stones and steeped in water. It is these which take the place of hay and oats. As for the other stables of the King, where he has also some fine horses, they are poor places, badly built, and do not deserve to be mentioned.

The JUMNA is a fine river which has large boats upon it, and, after having passed AGRA, it loses its name in the GANGES at ALLAHABAD. The King keeps many small brigantines at JAHÁNÁBÁD for pleasure, and they are highly decorated after the manner of the country.

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CHAPTER VII

Sequence of the same Route, from DELHI *up to* AGRA

FROM DEHLY to BADELPOURA (BUDURPUR) .	8	*coss.*
,, BADELPOURA to PELUEL-KI-SERA (PULWAL)	18	,,
,, PELUEL-KI-SERA to COTKI-SERA (KOTWÁN ?)	15	,,
,, COTKI-SERA to CHEKI-SERA[1] (SHEIKH-I-SARÁI ?)	16	,,

At CHEKI-SERA there is one of the grandest pagodas in India with an asylum for apes, both for those commonly in the place and for those which come from the neighbouring country, where the *Banians* provide them with food. This pagoda is called MATHURA;[2] formerly it was held in much greater veneration by the idolaters than it is at present. That was because the JUMNA then flowed at the foot of the pagoda, and because the *Banians*, both those of the place and those who came from afar in pilgrimage to perform their devotions there, were able to wash themselves in the river before entering the pagoda, and on coming

[1] This probably stands for Sheikh-i-sarái, the name of some halting-place near Matura of the original (*i.e.* Mathura).

[2] Mathura, or Muttra, on the right bank of the Jumna, about 30 miles above Agra. It was a centre of the Buddhist faith about the year A.D. 400, when visited by the Chinese pilgrim, Fa-Hian. Its antiquities have been fully described by Mr. Growse. Monkeys still swarm in the city, where they are fed by the inhabitants. In 1669-70 Aurangzeb visited the city, and destroyed many of its temples and shrines.

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out of it before preparing to eat, which they must not do without being washed; besides, they believe that by washing themselves in running water their sins are more effectually removed. But for some years back the river has taken its course to the north, and flows at a good *coss* distance from the pagoda; this is the reason why so many pilgrims do not visit it now.

From CHEKI-SERA to GOODKI-SERA (?) . 5 *coss.*
,, GOODKI-SERA to AGRA . . . 6 ,,

AGRA is in 27° 31′ latitude,[1] in a sandy soil; which is the cause of excessive heat in summer. It is the largest town in INDIA, and was formerly the residence of the Kings. The houses of the nobles are beautiful and well built, but those of private persons have nothing fine about them, no more than in all the other towns of INDIA. They are separated from one another, and are concealed by the height of the walls, from fear lest any one should see the women; so it is easy to understand that all these towns have nothing cheerful about them like our towns in EUROPE. It should be added to this that, AGRA being surrounded by sands, the heat in summer is excessive, and it is, in part, this which induced SHÁH JAHÁN not to make his ordinary dwelling there any more, and to remove his court to JAHÁNÁBÁD.

All then that is remarkable at AGRA is the palace of the King,[2] and some beautiful tombs both near the town and in the environs. The palace of the King is a considerable enclosure with a double wall, which is

[1] The true latitude of Agra is 27° 10′ 6″. The *Handbook to Agra*, by Mr. H. G. Keene, may be referred to for an account of this city by those who desire to learn of its present condition and past history.

[2] The palace was commenced during the reign of Ibráhim Lodi; but the chief architectural monuments are due to Sháh Jahán. (*Arch. Reports*, vol. iv, p. 12.)

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terraced in some places, and above the wall small dwellings have been built for certain officers of the court. The JUMNA flows in front of the palace; but between the wall and the river there is a large square where the King makes his elephants fight. They have purposely selected this spot near the water, because the elephant which has been victorious being enraged, they would not be able to pacify him for a long time if they did not urge him into the river, to effect which it is necessary to use artifice, by attaching to the end of a handpike fuses and petards, which are set on fire to drive him into the water; and when he is two or three feet deep in it he forthwith becomes appeased.

There is a large square on the side of the town in front of the palace, and the first gate, which has nothing magnificent about it, is guarded by some soldiers. Before the King had given up his residence at AGRA for that at JAHÁNÁBÁD, whenever he went to the country on a visit he entrusted the custody of the palace, where his treasure was, to one of the principal and most trustworthy of his *Omrahs*, who, until the return of the King, never moved, neither day nor night, from this gate where his lodging was. It was during such an absence that I was permitted to see the palace at AGRA. The King having left for JAHÁNÁBÁD, where all the court followed, and even the women too, the government of the palace was conferred on a noble who was a great friend of the Dutch, and, in general, of all the *Franks*.[1]

M. VELANT, chief of the Dutch factory at AGRA, as soon as the King had left, went to salute this noble and to make him a present, according to the custom.

[1] *Franguis* in the original, Franks, *i.e.* Europeans. (See pp. 6 and 86.)

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It was worth about 6000[1] *écus*, and consisted of spices, Japanese cabinets, and beautiful Dutch cloths. He invited me to go with him when he went to pay his compliments to the Governor; but this noble was offended at being offered a present, and obliged him to take it back, telling him that, in consideration of the friendship he had for the *Franks*, he would only take one small cane out of six which formed a part of the gift. They were those Japanese canes which grow in short nodes; it was even necessary to remove the gold with which it had been embellished, as he would not receive it except in its unadorned condition. Compliments having passed on both sides, the Governor asked M. Velant what he desired him to do to serve him; and he having prayed him to have the goodness, as the court was absent, to permit him to see the interior of the palace, it was granted him, and six men were given to accompany us.

The first gate, where, as I have said, the dwelling of the Governor of the palace is situated, is a long and dark arch, after which you enter a large court surrounded with porticoes, like the PLACE ROYALE or LUXEMBOURG at PARIS. The gallery which is opposite is larger and higher than the others, and is sustained by three rows of columns, and under those, on the three other sides of the court, which are narrower and lower, there are several small chambers for the soldiers of the guard. In the middle of the great gallery you see a niche in the wall to which the King obtains access from his harem by a small concealed staircase, and when seated there he looks like a statue. He has no guards about him then, because he has nothing to fear; and because

[1] About £1350.

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neither before nor behind, from the right nor from the left, can any one approach him. During the great heat he keeps only one eunuch by him, and most frequently one of his children, to fan him. The nobles of the court remain below in the gallery under this niche.

At the end of the court there is, on the left hand, a second gateway which gives entrance to another great court, which is also surrounded by galleries, under which there are also small rooms for some officers of the palace. From this second court you pass into a third, where the King's apartments are situated. SHÁH JAHÁN had intended to cover the arch of a great gallery which is on the right hand with silver, and a Frenchman, named AUGUSTIN DE BORDEAUX, was to have done the work. But the GREAT MOGUL seeing there was no one in his kingdom who was more capable to send to GOA to negotiate an affair with the Portuguese, the work was not done, for, as the ability of AUGUSTIN was feared, he was poisoned on his return from COCHIN. This gallery is painted with foliage of gold and azure, and the floor is covered over with a carpet. There are doors under the gallery giving entrance into very small square chambers. I saw two or three of them which were opened for us, and we were told that the others were similar. The three other sides of the court are altogether open, and there is but a simple wall to the height of the support. On the side overlooking the river there is a projecting *divan* or belvedere, where the King comes to sit when he wishes to enjoy the pleasure of seeing his brigantines, and making his elephants fight In front of this *divan* there is a gallery which serves as a vestibule, and the design of SHÁH JAHÁN was to cover

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it throughout by a trellis of rubies and emeralds, which would represent, after nature, green grapes and those commencing to become red; but this design, which made a great noise throughout the world, and which required more wealth than he had been able to furnish, remains unfinished, only having two or three wreaths of gold with their leaves, as all the rest ought to be, and enamelled in their natural colours, emeralds, rubies, and garnets making the grapes. About the middle of the court you see a great tank for bathing, of forty feet in diameter, and of a single piece of sandstone, with steps cut in the stone itself, both within and without.[1]

As for the tombs which are in AGRA and its environs, there are some which are very beautiful, and there is not one of the eunuchs in the King's harem who is not ambitious to have a magnificent tomb built for himself. When they have amassed large sums they earnestly desire to go to MECCA, and to take with them rich presents; but the GREAT MOGUL, who does not wish the money to leave his country, very seldom grants them permission, and consequently, not knowing what to do with their wealth, they expend the greater part of it in these burying-places, in order to leave some monument to their names.

Of all the tombs which one sees at AGRA, that of the wife of SHÁH JAHÁN[2] is the most splendid. He purposely made it near the TASIMACAN,[3] where all foreigners come, so that the whole world should see and admire its magnificence. The TASIMACAN is a large bazaar,

[1] This should take rank as one of the most remarkable monoliths ever extracted from a quarry and dressed by stone-cutters' chisels. See p. 153.

[2] The Táj Mahal was erected by Sháh Jahán in memory of his queen, Mumtáz-i-Mahal. His own remains lie there too.

[3] Probably *Táj-i-mukám; i.e.* The camp of the Táj.

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consisting of six large courts all surrounded with porticoes, under which there are chambers for the use of merchants, and an enormous quantity of cottons is sold there. The tomb of this *Begum*, or sultan queen, is at the east end of the town by the side of the river in a great square surrounded by walls, upon which there is a small gallery, as on the walls of many towns in EUROPE. This square is a kind of garden divided into compartments like our parterres, but in the places where we put gravel there is white and black marble. You enter this square by a large gate, and at first you see, on the left hand, a beautiful gallery which faces in the direction of MECCA, where there are three or four niches where the *Moufti*[1] comes at fixed times to pray. A little farther than the middle of the square, on the side of the water, you see three great platforms elevated, one upon the other, with four towers at the four corners of each, and a staircase inside, for proclaiming the hour of prayer. There is a dome above, which is scarcely less magnificent than that of VAL DE GRACE at PARIS. It is covered within and without with white marble, the middle being of brick. Under this dome there is an empty tomb, for the *Begum* is interred under a vault which is beneath the first platform. The same changes which are made below in this subterranean place are made above around the tomb, for from time to time they change the carpet, chandeliers, and other ornaments of that kind, and there are always there some *Mollahs*[2] to pray. I witnessed the commencement and accomplishment of this great work, on which they have expended twenty-two years, during

[1] *Mufti*, a Turkish title applied to the supreme exponent of the law.

[2] More correctly *Mullá*.

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which twenty thousand men worked incessantly; this is sufficient to enable one to realise that the cost of it has been enormous. It is said that the scaffoldings alone cost more than the entire work, because, from want of wood, they had all to be made of brick, as well as the supports of the arches; this has entailed much labour and a heavy expenditure. SHÁH JAHÁN began to build his own tomb on the other side of the river, but the war which he had with his sons interrupted his plan, and AURANGZEB, who reigns at present, is not disposed to complete it. An eunuch in command of 2000 men guards both the tomb of the *Begum* and the TASIMACAN, to which it is near at hand.

On one side of the town the tomb of King AKBAR[1] is to be seen; as for those of the eunuchs they have but a single platform with small chambers at each of the four corners.

When you reach AGRA from the DELHI side you meet a large bazaar, close to which there is a garden where the king JAHÁNGIR, father of SHÁH JAHÁN, is interred. Over the gate of this garden you see a painting which represents his tomb covered by a great black pall with many torches of white wax, and two Jesuit Fathers at the ends. One is much astounded at seeing that SHÁH JAHÁN, contrary to the practice of the Muhammadans, who hold images in abhorrence, has allowed this painting to remain, and it can only be in consequence of the fact that the King his father and he himself had learnt from the Jesuits some principles of mathematics and astrology. But he had not the same indulgence for them in another matter, for on going

[1] This was built by Sháh Jahángir at Sikandrá.

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one day to see a sick Armenian, named COTGIA,[1] . . . whom he much loved, and whom he had honoured with splendid appointments, and the Jesuits, who had their house close to that of the Armenian, happening to ring their bell just then, the noise proved displeasing to the King, and as he thought it might inconvenience the sick man, in a rage he commanded it to be removed and hung on the neck of his elephant; this was promptly done. Some days after, the King seeing the elephant with this heavy bell suspended from its neck, he thought that so great a weight might injure it, and he therefore ordered it to be carried into the office of the *Couteval*,[2] which is a sort of barrier where a provost administers justice to those of the quarter, and it has remained there ever since. This Armenian had been brought up with SHÁH JAHÁN, and, as he was very clever and was an excellent poet, he was high in the good graces of the King, who had given him valuable governorships, but had never been able, either by promises or threats, to induce him to become a Muhammadan.

[1] There is a hiatus here in the original, probably Tavernier was uncertain as to the name, *Cotgia* (for *Khojeh*) being a title.

[2] *Kotwál*, *i.e.* police-magistrate or provost.

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CHAPTER VIII

Route from AGRA *to* PATNA *and* DACCA, *towns of the Province of* BENGAL; *and the quarrel which the author had with* SHÁISTÁ KHÁN, *uncle of the King.*

I PARTED from AGRA for BENGAL on the 25th of November 1665[1] and lay the same day at a poor *caravansarái* distant from AGRA 3 *coss.*

The 26th [Nov.] I reached BERUZABAD (FEROZÁBÁD), 9 *coss.*

It is a small town, where, on my return, I received 8000 rupees of the balance of the money which ZAFAR KHÁN owed me for the goods which he had bought from me at JAHÁNÁBÁD.[2]

The 27th [Nov.] to SERAIL MORLIDES (?) . 9 *coss.*
28th „ „ ESTANJA (ETÁWAH[3]) . 14 „
29th „ „ HAII-MAL (AJIT-MÁL) . 12 „
30th „ „ SEKANDERA (SIKANDRA) . 13 „
1st of Dec. to SANQUAL (near MUSANAGAR) 14 „

I met on this day 110 waggons, each drawn by 6 oxen, and there was upon each waggon 50,000 rupees.

[1] Tavernier, in Book I, chap. x, describes how he witnessed the Mogul's festival on the 4th to the 9th of November, and then saw the jewels. Soon afterwards he must have left Delhi so as to reach Agra for this start. (See *Joret, op. cit.*, p. 193.)

[2] See for account of this purchase, p. 137.

[3] Elsewhere I have suggested that by Kadioue, Etáwah was also intended. (See pp. 96, 115.) The name is, I find, mentioned by Bernier.

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It was the revenue of the Province of BENGAL, of which all charges being paid and the purse of the Governor well filled, amounted to 5,500,000 rupees.[1] At one league on this side of SANQUAL you cross a river called SENGÁR,[2] which flows into the JUMNÁ, which is only half a league distant. You cross this river SENGÁR by a stone bridge, and when you arrive from the BENGAL side, to go to SIRONJ and SURAT, if you wish to shorten the journey by ten days, when quitting the road to AGRA you must come as far as this bridge, and cross the river JUMNÁ by boat. Nevertheless the route by Agra is generally taken, because by the other there are five or six days' stony marches, and because one must pass through the territories of *Rajas* where there is danger of being robbed.

The 2d [December] I came to a *caravansaráï* called CHEROURABAD,[3] 12 *coss*.

Halfway you pass JAHÁNÁBÁD,[4] (?) a small town near which, about a quarter of a league on this side, you pass a field of millet, where I saw a rhinoceros eating stalks of this millet, which a small boy of nine or ten years[5] presented to him. On my approaching

[1] Tieffenthaler places the revenue of Bengal at 13,006,590 rupees in Akbar's time, and he says that it was 40,000,000 rupees according to "Manouzzi," *i.e.* Manouchi, in the time of Sháh Jahán, subsequently it fell to 8,621,200 rupees. (*Géog. de l'Ind.*, p. 443.)

[2] Saingour in the original.

[3] Not identified.

[4] Gianabad in the original, to west of Korá.

[5] Tame rhinoceroses, to which a good deal of freedom was allowed, were formerly not uncommonly kept by the *Rajas*. Sometimes, as at Baroda, they were performers in the fighting arena, and on such occasions were commonly painted with divers bright colours. Elsewhere I have shown that the *Kartazonon* of Megasthenes and the "Horned Ass" of Ktesias were probably this animal; in the latter case the colours which have puzzled so many commentators were, I believe, artificial pigments applied to the hide of the rhinoceros seen by Ktesias,

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he gave me some stalks of millet, and immediately the rhinoceros came to me, opening his mouth four or five times; I placed some in it, and when he had eaten them he continued to open his mouth so that I might give him more.

The 3d [December] I came to SERRAIL CHAGEADA (SARÁI SHÁHZÁDÁ), 10 *coss.*

The 4th, to SERRAIL ATAKAN (HUTGÁON), 13 *coss.*

The 5th, to AURANGÁBÁD,[1] a large town, 9 *coss.*

Formerly this town had another name, and it is the place where AURANGZEB, who reigns at present, gave battle to his brother Sultan SHUJÁ, who held the government of the whole of BENGAL. AURANGZEB having been victorious gave his name to the town, and he built there a handsome house with a garden and a small mosque.

The 6th [December] to ALINCHAN (ALUM CHAND), 9 *coss.*

About two leagues on this side of ALUM CHAND you meet the GANGES. Monsieur BERNIER,[2] Physician to the King, and a man named RACHEPOT, with whom I was, were surprised to see that this river, of which they make so much talk, is not larger than the SEINE

as they are on elephants at the present day. (*Proceed. Roy. Irish Academy*, 2d Ser., vol. ii, No. 6, 1885.) Chardin describes and figures a rhinoceros from Ethiopia which he saw at Ispahan. He says he did not know whether the animal was found in India. (*Voyages*, Amsterdam ed., 1711, vol. viii, p. 133.)

[1] Aurangábád, not now on the maps. Perhaps same as Kadioue. See pp. 96 and 113.

[2] M. Bernier, the well-known historian of the Mogul Empire, was born at Joué-Etian, in Angers, in September 1620. In 1654 he went to Syria and Egypt, and from Cairo, where he remained for a year, he went to Suez and embarked for India, where he took service as physician to the Great Mogul (*Voyages*, t. i, p. 9). In 1668 he returned to France, and died in 1688.

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in front of the LOUVRE, it being perhaps thought that it equalled in width, at the least, the DANUBE below BELGRADE. There is actually so little water from the month of March to the month of June or July, when the rains commence, that boats are not able to ascend it. On arrival at the GANGES, we each drank a glass of wine which we mixed with water—this caused some internal disturbance; but our attendants who drank it alone were much more tormented than we were. The Dutch, who have a house on the banks of the GANGES, never drink the water of the river, except after it has been boiled; as for the native inhabitants, they have been accustomed to it from their youth; the King even and all his court drink no other. You see every day a large number of camels which do nothing else but fetch water from the GANGES.

The 7th [Dec.] we came to HALABAS[1] (ALLÁHÁBÁD), 8 *coss*.

ALLÁHÁBÁD is a large town built on a point of land where the GANGES and the JUMNA meet one another. It has a fine castle built of cut stone, with a double ditch, and it is the dwelling of the Governor. He is one of the greatest nobles in INDIA, and as he is troubled with bad health he employs some Persian Physicians, and he then also had in his service M. CLAUDE MAILLE of BOURGES,[2] who practised both surgery and medicine. It was he who advised us not to drink any of the GANGES water, which would produce disturbance of the

[1] Alláhábád, Iláhábás of Akbar, at the junction of the Jumna and Ganges.

[2] M. Claude Maille of Bourges. As we shall see in Book I, chap. xviii, a man of this name, who had escaped from the Dutch service was, in the year 1652, a not very successful amateur gun-founder for Mir Jumlá; he had after his escape set up as a surgeon to the *Nawáb*, with

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stomach, but to drink rather the water from wells. The chief of these Persian Physicians whom this Governor had in his pay, one day threw his wife down from the top of a terrace to the ground, impelled apparently to this cruel action by a freak of jealousy. He thought that she was killed, but she had only two or three ribs broken, and the relations of the woman threw themselves at the feet of the Governor to demand justice. The Governor summoned the Physician, and commanded him to withdraw, not wishing to keep him any longer in his service. He obeyed this order, and, having placed his disabled wife in a *pallankeen*, he departed with all his family. He was not more than three or four marches from the town when the Governor, finding himself unusually ill, sent to recall him, upon which the Physician stabbed his wife, four of his children, and thirteen female slaves, after which he returned to the Governor, who said nothing to him about it, and took him again into his service.

On the 8th I crossed the GANGES in a large boat, having waited from the morning till mid-day on the bank of the river, till M. MAILLE brought a letter from the Governor giving us permission to cross. For on each side there is a *Darogah*, who allows no one to pass without an order; and he takes note also of the kind of merchandise carried, each waggon being charged four rupees, and a chariot paying but one, without counting the boat, for which it is necessary to pay separately.

an equipment consisting of a case of instruments and a box of ointments which he had stolen from M. Cheteur, the Dutch Ambassador to Golconda. Tavernier throws no light upon his identity with this physician. He mentions that M. Cheteur left a surgeon named Pitre de Lan with the king of Golconda. (See Book I, chap. xix.)

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This day the halt was at SADOUL SERAIL[1] (?) 16 *coss.*
The 9th at YAKEDIL-SERA (JAGDIS SARÁI) . 10 ,,
10th at BOURAKY-SERA (BABOO SARÁI) . 10 ,,
11th at BANAROU (BENARES) . . 10 ,,

BENARES[2] is a large and very well-built town, the majority of the houses being of brick and cut stone, and more lofty than those of other towns of INDIA; but it is very inconvenient that the streets are so narrow. It has several *caravansaráis*, and, among others, one very large and well built. In the middle of the court there are two galleries where they sell cottons, silken stuffs, and other kinds of merchandise. The majority of those who vend the goods are the workers who have made the pieces, and in this manner foreigners obtain them at first hand. These workers, before exposing anything for sale, have to go to him who holds the contract, in order to get the King's stamp impressed on the pieces of calico or silk, otherwise they are fined and flogged. The town is situated to the north of the GANGES, which runs the whole length of the walls, and two leagues farther down a large river[3] joins it from the west. The idolaters have one of their principal pagodas in BENARES, and I shall describe it in Book II, where I shall speak of the religion of the *Banians.*

About 500 paces from the town, in a north-western direction, there is a mosque where you see several Muhammadan tombs, of which some are of a very beauti-

[1] Possibly Sydábád, which, however, is only about 17 miles from Alláhábád; in any case the 16 *coss* is too much. The subsequent stages to Benares are 18, 18, and 22 miles.

[2] Benares is 74 miles distance to the east of Alláhábád, and 466 south-east of Delhi.

[3] This must be the Barná, as the Gumti is 16 miles off. The Barná is not now a large river, but rather a small stream.

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ful design. The most beautiful are placed each in the middle of a garden enclosed by walls which have openings of half a foot square, through which the passers-by can see them. The most considerable of all is like a great square pedestal, each face of which is about forty paces long. In the middle of this platform you see a column of 32 to 35 feet in height, all of a piece, and which three men could with difficulty embrace.[1] It is of sandstone, so hard that I could not scratch it with my knife. It terminates in a pyramid, and has a great ball on the point, and below the ball it is encircled by large beads. All the sides of this tomb are covered with figures of animals cut in relief in the stone, and it has been higher above the ground than it now appears; several of the old men who guard some of these tombs having assured me that since fifty years it has subsided more than 30 feet. They add that it is the tomb of one of the kings of BHUTÁN, who was interred there after he had left his country to conquer this kingdom, from which he was subsequently driven by the descendants of TAMERLANE. It is from this kingdom of BHUTÁN that they bring musk, and I shall give a description of it in Book III.

I remained at BENARES on the 12th and 13th, and during these two days there was continual rain; but it did not prevent me from resuming my journey, and on the evening of the 13th I crossed the GANGES with the passport of the Governor. They examine all travellers' baggage before embarking in the boat, personal property pays nothing, and it is only on merchandise that one must pay duty.

[1] This was probably the Asoka pillar, known as the *Lát Bhairo*, which is believed to have been erected in the third century B.C.

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The 13th [December] I halted at BATERPOUR (BAHÁDURPUR) . . . . 2 *coss.*

14th at SATRAGY-SERA (SADRÁZÁ-KI-SARÁI on old map)[1] . . . 8 ,,

15th at MONIARKY-SERA (MOHANIÁ-KI-SARÁI)[2] . . . . . 6 ,,

During the morning of this day, after having travelled two *coss*, I crossed a river called CARNASAR SOU,[3] and at three *coss* from thence one crosses another named SAODE-SOU,[4] and both are crossed by fords.

The 16th at GOURMABAD (KHURMÁBÁD) . 8 *coss.*

It is a town on a river called GOUDERA-SOU,[5] and you cross it by a stone bridge.

The 17th at SASERON (SÁSSERÁM)[6] . . 4 *coss.*

SÁSSERÁM is a town at the foot of the mountains, near to which there is a large tank. You see a small island in the middle, where there is a very beautiful mosque, in which there is the tomb of a *Nawáb* named SELIM-KHÁN, who had it built during the time he was Governor of the Province. There is a fine stone bridge to cross into the island, which is all flanked and paved with large cut stones. On one of the sides of the tank there is a large garden, in the middle of which is another beautiful tomb of the son of the same *Nawáb*, SELIM-KHÁN, who succeeded his

[1] Sedradje of Tieffenthaler.

[2] Mohonia of Tieffenthaler.

[3] *Sou* for *su*, Turkish for river. This appears to have been the Karamnasar river.

[4] The Durgouti river?

[5] Koodra river.

[6] Sásserám, in Behar. Tieffenthaler gives the distance as thirty-five *milles* from Benares to Sásserám. The tomb of the Afghan, Sher Sháh, who became Emperor after his conquest of Humáyun, rightly so named by Tieffenthaler, is in the middle of the tank with that of his son Selim, otherwise known as Islám Shah.

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father in the government of the Province. When you wish to go to the mine of SOULMELPOUR,[1] of which I shall speak in the last book of this narrative, you leave the main road to PATNA, and turn straight southwards by EKBERBOURG[2] and the famous fort of RHODAS (ROHTAS), as I shall say in the same place.

The 18th [December] I crossed, in a boat, the river SONSOU,[3] which comes from the mountains of the south; and, after crossing it, those who have goods have to pay a certain duty.

This day my halt was at DAOUD-NAGAR-SERA (DOUDNAGAR), where there is a fine tomb . 9 *coss.*

The 19th to HALVA-SERA (ARWAL)[4] . 10 ,,

20th to AGA-SERA (?) . . . 9 ,,

In the morning I met 130 elephants, both large and small, which they were taking to DELHI to the GREAT MOGUL.

The 21st to PATNA. . . . . 10 *coss.*

PATNA is one of the largest towns in INDIA, on the margin of the GANGES, on its western side, and it is

[1] Soulmelpour, a misprint for Soumelpour (see Book II, chap. xvii, where it is shown to have been situated in Palamow). It is also mentioned by Tieffenthaler as Sommelpour, thirty *milles* S.S.E. of Rohtás. (*Géog. de l'Ind., traduit par Bernoulli*, Berlin 1791, p. 433.)

[2] Ekberbourg, which is misprinted in the puzzling-looking form of Exberbourg in the English translation by John Phillips (1684), is undoubtedly identical with Akbárpur, a village at the foot of the hill upon which the remains of the old fort of Rohtás are still to be seen. A small portion has been restored and made habitable. I have described this neighbourhood in *Jungle Life in India*, p. 349. Of the substitution of the French *bourg* for the Indian *púr* these pages furnish several examples.

[3] The river Sone or Son. It rises in the west, near Amarkantak.

[4] Arwal on Sone, formerly, as stated by Tieffenthaler, famous for its paper factory. The original village has been swept away by the river, and a new one bears the name. It is forty-one miles distant from Patna, so that the value of the *coss* is here also about two miles.

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not less than two *coss* in length. The houses are not better than in the majority of the other towns of INDIA, and they are nearly all roofed with thatch or bamboo. The Dutch company has an establishment there on account of the trade in saltpetre,[1] which it refines at a large village called CHAPRÁ, situated on the right bank of the GANGES, 10 *coss* above PATNA.

Arriving at PATNA with M. BERNIER, we encountered some Dutchmen in the street who were returning to CHAPRÁ,[2] but who halted their carriages in order to salute us. We did not separate before we had emptied together two bottles of SHIRÁZ wine in the open street, regarding which there is nothing to remark upon in this country, where one lives without ceremony, and with perfect liberty.

I remained eight days in PATNA, during which time an occurrence happened which will show the reader that unnatural crime does not rest unpunished by the Muhammadans. A *Mimbachi*[3] who commanded 1000 foot disgraced a young boy who was in his service; . . . the boy, overwhelmed with grief, chose his time to avenge himself, and being one day out hunting with his master, and removed from the other attendants by about a quarter of a league, he came behind him and cut off his head with his sword. He then rode im-

[1] An account of the manufacture of saltpetre and the decadence of this once valuable trade will be found in the *Economic Geology of India*, p. 499.

[2] Choupar in the original, Chuprah, or Chaprá (Sœpra of Dutch writers), headquarters of Sáran District, Bengal; owing to the recession of the Ganges from it its importance has diminished. At the end of the last century the French, Dutch, and Portuguese had factories there, and the saltpetre of the district was specially famous.

[3] *Mimbachi*. Here *Mim* stands for *Ming*, Turkish for 1000.

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mediately to the town at full speed, crying aloud that he had slain his master for such a reason, and came at once to the house of the Governor, who placed him in prison. But he left it at the end of six months, and although all the relatives of the defunct did what they could to procure his execution, the Governor did not dare to condemn him, as he feared the people, who protested that the young man had acted rightly.

I left PATNA in a boat to descend to DACCA on the 29th of January (?),[1] between 11 o'clock and noon. If the river had been strong, as it is after the rains, I should have embarked at ALLÁHÁBÁD, or at the least at BENARES.

The same day I slept at SERA BECONCOUR,[2] 15 *coss*.

Five *coss* on this side of BECONCOUR you meet a river called POMPON SOU,[3] which comes from the south and flows into the GANGES.

The 30th [December] to SERA D'ERIIA (DARIAPUR ?),[4] 17 *coss*.

On the 31st, after having gone 4 *coss* or thereabouts, you meet the river KAOA, which comes from the south; 3 *coss* lower you see another called CHANON, which falls from the north; 4 *coss* farther you discover that called ERGUGA, which comes from the

[1] This is a mistake for December, see below.

[2] Bykatpur perhaps, but it is only 13 miles from Patna. On the whole Bar seems to correspond best.

[3] Púnpún or Fatwa *nala*, a river of South Behár, which rises in the south of the Gayá district. It joins the Ganges at Fatwa, and is crossed by the road from Bankipúr at 10 miles from that town and 5 from Bykatpur.

[4] There is some uncertainty about this identification, as the distances given are but little guide. On the Atlas Sheet the name is printed Durgapur. Perhaps if Beconcur stands for Bar it should be Deeareh, halfway to Mongir.

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south; and again, 6 *coss* below that of AQUERA, which comes from the same quarter, and these four rivers lose their names in the GANGES.[1] All that day I beheld lofty mountains[2] on the south side, and at a distance from the GANGES some 10 *coss* and some 15 *coss*, and I came to a halt at MONGER (MONGIR) town, 18 *coss*.

The first day of January 1666, after having sailed two hours I saw the GANDAK[3] enter the GANGES from the north. It is a large navigable river.

This evening the halt was at ZANGIRA (JANJIRA,)[4] 8 *coss*.

But as the GANGES twisted much during the day it is by water fully 22 *coss*.

During the 2d, between 6 o'clock in the morning and about 11 o'clock, I saw three rivers enter the GANGES, and they all three come from the north side. The first is called RONOVA, the second TAÈ, and the third CHANAN.[5]

I slept at BAQUELPOUR (BHÁGALPUR),[6] 18 *coss*.

The 3d, after four hours' travelling on the GANGES, I encountered the river KATARE,[7] which comes from the north, and slept this day at a village called PONGANGEL,[8] at the end of the mountains which abut on the GANGES, 13 *coss*.[9]

[1] Compare Keul and Tiljugá rivers, and Kargariá, Bhágmati and Chándú *kháls*.

[2] Kharakpúr hills and adjoining ranges.

[3] Gandet in the original. This was the *Boor* or *Burh* Gandak river.

[4] For Jahángirha of map, near Sultánganj.

[5] These names probably represent sundry *kháls*.

[6] Bhágalpur in Behár.

[7] Probably the Kosi.

[8] Called Borregangel by De Graaf in 1669 (see *Histoire Generale des Voyages La Haye*, 1755, vol. xiii, p. 50, and Popangel in a map of "Indostan" in the same volume). Its position corresponds with that of the modern Sikrigalli *ghát*.

[9] This distance is much understated, being about 50 miles by land.

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On the 4th [January], one hour below PONGANGEL, I met a great river called MART-NADI (KALINDRY?), which comes from the north, and I slept at RAGEMEHALE (RÁJMAHÁL[1]), 6 *coss*.

RÁJMAHÁL is a town on the right bank of the GANGES, and when you approach it by land you find that for one or two *coss* the roads are paved with brick up to the town. It was formerly the residence of the Governors of BENGAL, because it is a splendid hunting country,[2] and, moreover, the trade there was considerable. But the river having taken another course, and passing only at a distance of a full half league from the town, as much for this reason as for the purpose of restraining the King of ARAKAN, and many Portuguese bandits[3] who have settled at the mouths of the GANGES, and by whom the inhabitants of DACCA, up to which place they made incursions, were molested, — the Governor and the merchants who dwelt at RÁJMAHÁL removed to DACCA, which is to-day a place of considerable trade.[4]

On the 6th, having arrived at a great town called DONAPOUR,[5] at 6 *coss* from RÁJMAHÁL, I left M. BERNIER, who went to KÁSIMBÁZÁR,[6] and from thence to HUGLI[7] by land, because when the river is low one

[1] Rájmahál, a well-known town on the Ganges. Made the capital in 1592.

[2] There is still a considerable amount of sport to be had in this neighbourhood, though the rhinoceros has become extinct since 1843.

[3] Portuguese at Noákhálí. (See *Imp. Gaz. of India*, vol. x, p. 341.)

[4] This change was made in the time of Jahángír, according to Tieffenthaler.

[5] Donapour, situated on the farther bank of the Ganges at six *milles* east of Bakarpour, according to Tieffenthaler.

[6] Casenbazar in the original. Kásimbázár (Cossimbazar). (See p. 130 *n.*)

[7] Ogouli in the original. Hugli. (See p. 132.)

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is unable to pass on account of a great bank of sand which is before a town called SOUTIQUI.[1]

I lay this evening at TOUTIPOUR,[2] distant from RÁJMAHÁL 12 *coss*.

At sunrise I beheld a number of crocodiles asleep on the sand.

The 7th I reached ACERAT (HADJRÁPÚR),[3] 25 *coss*.

From ACERAT to DACCA, by land, there are still 45 *coss*. All this day I beheld so large a number of crocodiles that, at length, I became desirous to shoot one in order to ascertain if what is commonly said is true, namely, that a shot from a gun does not affect them. The shot struck him in the jaw and the blood flowed, but he did not remain where he was, but went into the river.

On the 8th I again saw a great number of these crocodiles lying on the bank of the river, and I fired at two with two shots, each charge having three balls. Immediately they were wounded they turned over on the back, opening the mouth and dying on the spot.

This day I slept at DOULOUDIA (?), 17 *coss*.

The crows were the cause of our finding a fine fish which the fishermen had concealed on the bank of the river in the reeds. For when our boatmen observed that there were a great number of crows which cawed and entered the reeds, they concluded that they must

[1] Súti or Sooty in Murshidábád district, where the Bhágirathi leaves the Ganges.

[2] Not identified. Tieffenthaler says two *milles*, probably a misprint, as his other distances correspond with those of Tavernier. Crocodiles of enormous size abound in this part of the Ganges.

[3] Acerat appears to be Hadjrápur, or the Hadjrapour of Tieffenthaler, twenty-five *milles* from Totipour; unlike as the two names appear when written, the resemblance will be seen when they are pronounced. It is called Hujrygotta on a map engraved by Whitechurch in 1776.

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contain something unusual, and they searched so well that they found sufficient to make a good meal.

On the 9th [January], at 2 P.M., we encountered a river called CHATIVOR (?) which comes from the north, and our halt was at DAMPOUR (?), 16 *coss*.

The 10th we slept on the margin of the river in a place far removed from houses, and made this day 15 *coss*.

On the 11th, having arrived towards evening at the spot where the GANGES divides into three branches, one of which goes to DACCA, we slept at the entrance of this channel, at a large village called JATRAPOUR (?), 20 *coss*.

Those who have no baggage can proceed by land from JATRAPOUR to DACCA, and they shorten their journey very much, because the river winds about considerably.

On the 12th, at noon, we passed before a large town called BAGAMARA(?), and slept at KASIATA(?), another large town,[1] 11 *coss*.

On the 13th, at noon, we met a river at 2 *coss* from DACCA called LAQUIÁ,[2] which comes from the north-east. Opposite the point where the two rivers join, there is a fortress with several guns on each side. Half a *coss* lower down you see another river called PAGALU,[3] over

[1] So many changes in the courses of the rivers and the positions of the towns have taken place in this region, that it would require closer knowledge of the locality than I possess, and more detailed maps than I have had access to, to identify closely this portion of Tavernier's route.

[2] The Lakia river is remarkable among Bengal rivers for its swift current.

[3] *Pagla*. This term, meaning "fool," is applied in deltaic regions in Bengal to branches or loops from rivers which derive their water not from an independent source, but from the river which they again rejoin.

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which there is a fine brick bridge, which MIR JUMLÁ[1] ordered to be built. This river comes from the north-east, and half a *coss* below you find another called CADAMTALI (?), which comes from the north, and which you also cross by a brick bridge; on both sides of the river you see several towers, where there are as it were enshrined many heads of men who have robbed on the high roads.

We arrived at DACCA[2] towards evening, and accomplished this day 9 *coss*.

DACCA is a large town, which is only of extent as regards length, each person being anxious to have his house close to the GANGES. This length exceeds 2 *coss;* and from the last brick bridge, which I have mentioned above, up to DACCA, there is a succession of houses, separated one from the other, and inhabited for the most part by the carpenters who build galleys and other vessels. These houses are, properly speaking, only miserable huts made of bamboo, and mud which is spread over them. Those of DACCA are scarcely better built, and that which is the residence of the Governor is an enclosure of high walls, in the middle of which is a poor house merely built of wood. He ordinarily resides under tents, which he pitches in a large court in this enclosure. The Dutch, finding that their goods were not sufficiently safe in the common houses of DACCA, have built a very fine house, and the English have also got one which is fairly good. The church of the Rev. Augustin Fathers is all of brick, and the workmanship of it is rather beautiful.

[1] Mirza Mola in the original. Mir Jumlá. For other forms of his name see Index.

[2] Dacca in E. Bengal.

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On the occasion of my last visit to DACCA, the *Nawáb* SHÁISTÁ KHÁN, who was then Governor of BENGAL, was at war with the King of ARAKAN, whose navy generally consists of 200 galleys together with several other small boats. These galleys traverse the Gulf of BENGAL and enter the GANGES, the tide ascending even beyond DACCA.

SHÁISTÁ KHÁN, uncle of the King AURANGZEB, who reigns at present, and the cleverest man in all his kingdom, found means for bribing many of the officers of the navy of the King of ARAKAN, and of a sudden forty galleys, which were commanded by Portuguese, joined him. In order to secure these new allies firmly in his service, he gave large pay to each of the Portuguese officers and to the soldiers in proportion, but the natives only received double the ordinary pay. It is a most surprising thing to see with what speed these galleys are propelled by oars. There are some so long that they have up to fifty oars on each side, but there are not more than two men to each oar. You see some which are much decorated, where the gold and azure have not been spared.[1]

The Dutch have some of them in their service in which they carry their merchandise, and they also sometimes require to hire some from others, thus affording a means of livelihood to many people.

The day following my arrival in DACCA, which was the 14th of January, I went to salute the *Nawáb*, and presented him with a mantle of gold brocade, with a grand golden lace of "point d'Espagne" round it, and a fine scarf of gold and silver of the same "point," and a

[1] With the aid of the Dutch and the partly enforced assistance of the Portuguese bandits, Sháistá Khán captured Chittagong in 1666.

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jewel consisting of a very beautiful emerald. During the evening, after I had returned to the Dutch with whom I lodged, the *Nawáb* sent me pomegranates, China oranges, two Persian melons, and three kinds of apples.

On the 15th [January] I showed him my goods, and presented to the Prince, his son, a watch having a case of enamelled gold, a pair of pistols inlaid with silver, and a telescope. All this which I gave, both to the father and to the young lord of about ten years of age, cost me more than 5000 *livres*.

On the 16th I agreed with him as to the price of my goods, and afterwards I went to his *Vizir* to receive my bill of exchange payable at KÁSIMBÁZÁR.[1] Not that he was unwilling to pay me at DACCA, but the Dutch, who were more experienced than I, warned me that there was risk in carrying silver to KÁSIMBÁZÁR, where one cannot go except by reascending the GANGES, because the land route is very bad and full of jungle and swamps. The danger consists in this, that the small vessels which one employs are very subject to be upset by the least wind, and when the sailors discover that one carries money, it is not difficult for them to make the boat upset, and to recover the silver afterwards, at the bottom of the river, for the purpose of appropriating it.

On the 20th I took leave of the *Nawáb*, who invited me to return to see him, and gave me a passport

[1] Kásimbázár, a town in the Murshidábád District, was of great commercial importance before Calcutta was founded. It was situated on the Bhágirathi river, which has changed its course, and now flows three miles from the town. In succession the different European nations monopolised the trade. The first English commercial agent was appointed in 1658. Its proximity to Murshidábád was a cause of constant danger to it, and it was often attacked by the *Nawábs* of Bengal.

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in which he described me as a gentleman of his household; this he had already previously done during the time that he was Governor of AHMADÁBÁD, when I went to the army to meet him in the Province of DECCAN, which the *Raja* SIVAJI[1] had entered, as I shall relate elsewhere. In virtue of these passports I was able to go and come throughout all the territories of the GREAT MOGUL as one of his household, and I shall explain their tenor in Book II.

On the 21st [January] the Dutch gave a great banquet out of regard for me, to which they invited the English and some Portuguese, with an Augustin friar of the same nation.

On the 22d I went to visit the English, who had for Chief or President Mr. PRAT (? PRATT), and after that the Reverend Portuguese Father, and some other *Franks*.

Between the 23d and the 29th I made some purchases for 11,000 rupees, and all being embarked I went to bid farewell.

On the 29th, in the evening, I parted from DACCA, and all the Dutch accompanied me for two leagues with their small armed boats, and the Spanish wine was not spared on this occasion. Having remained on the river from the 29th of January to the 11th of February, I left my servants and goods in the boat at HADJRÁPUR, where I hired a boat which carried me to a large village called MIRDAPOUR.(?)

On the 12th [February] I hired a horse to carry myself, and not finding another for my baggage, I was obliged to employ two women, who took charge of it. I arrived the same evening at KÁSIMBÁZÁR, where I was well received by M. ARNOUL VAN WACHTTENDONK,

[1] Seva-gi in the original, see Book I, chap. xii.

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Director of all the settlements of the Dutch in BENGAL, who invited me to lodge with him.

On the 13th I passed the day agreeably with the Dutch gentlemen, who wished to enjoy themselves in honour of my arrival.

On the 14th [February] M. WACHTTENDONK returned to HUGLI, where the principal settlement is, and on the same day one of my servants, who had preceded me, came to give me notice that the people whom I had left in the boat with my goods had been in great danger on account of the strong wind, which had lasted two days, and which became stronger during the night.

On the 15th [February] the Dutch gave me a *pallankeen* to go to MURSHIDÁBÁD.[1] It is a great town, 3 *coss* from KÁSIMBÁZÁR, where the Receiver-general of SHÁISTÁ KHÁN resided, to whom I presented my bill of exchange. After having read it he told me that it was good, and that he would have paid me if he had not on the previous evening received an order from the *Nawáb* not to pay me in case he had not already done so. He did not tell me the reason which caused SHÁISTÁ KHÁN to act in this manner, and I returned to my lodging not a little surprised at this proceeding.

On the 16th I wrote to the *Nawáb* to know what reason he had for ordering his Receiver not to pay me.

On the 17th, in the evening, I left for HUGLI in a boat with fourteen oars, which the Dutch lent me, and that night and the following I slept on the river.

On the 19th, towards evening, I passed a large

[1] Madesou Bazarki in the original. Murshidábád, then also called Maksudabad, and by the English Muxoodabad.

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town called NADIYÁ,[1] and it is the farthest point to which the tide reaches. There arose so furious a wind, and the water was so high, that we were compelled to stop for three or four hours and draw our boat ashore.

On the 20th I arrived at HUGLI, where I remained till the 2d of March, during which time the Dutch made me welcome, and sought to give me all the amusement which the country could afford. We made several excursions on the river, and we had for food all the delicacies which are found in our European gardens, salads of several kinds, cabbages, asparagus, peas, and principally beans, of which the seed comes from Japan, the Dutch desiring to have all kinds of herbs and pulses in their gardens, which they are most careful to cultivate, without having been able, however, to get artichokes to grow.

On the 2d of March I left HUGLI and arrived on the 5th at KÁSIMBÁZÁR.

The following day I went to MURSHIDÁBÁD to know if the Receiver who had refused to pay me had received another order from the *Nawáb*. For I have above said that I immediately wrote to SHÁISTÁ KHÁN to complain of his action and to know for what reason he did not wish my bill of exchange to be paid. The Director of the Dutch factories added a letter to mine, and pointed out to the *Nawáb* that I was too well known to him—having, formerly at AHMADÁBÁD, at the army of the DECCAN, and in other places, had many transactions with him—not to deserve favourable treatment; that he ought to remember that I, being the only person who often brought to INDIA the choicest

[1] Nandi in the original. Nadiyá, capital town of Nadiyá District, situated on the west bank of Bhágirathi.

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rarities of Europe, it was not the way to make me wish to return as he had invited me, if I should leave discontented; besides which, owing to the credit which I enjoyed, I should be easily able to dissuade those who intended to come to INDIA with rare objects, by making them fear the same treatment as I had received. Neither my letter nor that of the Director produced the effect we had hoped, and I was in no wise satisfied with the new order which the *Nawáb* had sent to the Receiver, by which he ordered him to pay me with a rebate of 20,000 rupees from the sum which I ought to receive, and was carried by my bill of exchange, according to the price upon which we had agreed. The *Nawáb* added that if I was unwilling to content myself with this payment I might come to take back my goods. This action of the *Nawáb* had its origin in an evil turn played me by three rogues at the court of the GREAT MOGUL. And this is the history of it in a few words.[1]

AURANGZEB, who reigns at present, at the solicita-

[1] In turning aside to relate what follows, Tavernier drops the thread of his narrative, and we are left to casual remarks from which to trace his route and his occupation from this time, namely, the beginning of March 1666 till his return to France in December 1668. Thus, on the 8th of April, he states he was at Maldah, and on the 12th of May he reascended the Ganges (Book III, chap. xiv); on the 2d of July he witnessed an eclipse of the sun at Patna, where he had probably remained during the month of June (Book III, chap. xiv). Towards the end of this month, or beginning of August, we have casual mention of his having met the deputies of the French Company for Commerce in Agra (see Joret, *op. cit.*, p. 201). He arrived at Surat by way of Sironj and Burhánpur on the 1st November (*Recueil*, p. 117), and met there M. Thevenot, who returned then from Golconda and Madras (*Recueil*, p. 118). He makes two references to his having been in Surat in January, or the beginning of 1667 (see Book I, chap. ix; and vol. iii, *Recueil*, p. 118), where he relates an act of brutality by M. Berber. Shortly afterwards, or in February, *i.e.* within the sailing season, he probably embarked from Surat for Bandar Abbás (*Gombroon*). The above facts are partly derived from M. Joret's work, pp. 198-202.

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tion of two Persians and a *Banian*, had established a short time ago a custom very injurious to merchants who come from Europe and other places to sell jewels to the court. When they arrive, whether by sea or by land, the governors of the places where they arrive have orders to send them to the King with their goods, either with their consent or by force; this the Governor of SURAT did to me in the year 1665, sending me to DELHI or JAHÁNÁBÁD where the King was. There are in the employment of his majesty two Persians and a *Banian*, whose duty it is to see and examine all the jewels which one wishes to sell to the King. One of these two Persians is named *Nawáb* AKIL KHÁN, *i.e.* the prince of wit, and it is he who has charge of all the precious stones of the King. The other is named MIRZA-MAUZIM(?), whose duty is to tax each piece. The *Banian*, called NYALCHAND,[1] has to see whether the stones are false and if they have any flaw.

These three men have obtained permission from the King that they shall see, before he does, all which the foreign merchants bring to sell to him, and that afterwards they shall present them to him themselves; and although they have sworn to take nothing from the merchant, they do not neglect to extort all they can in order to ruin him. When they see anything beautiful from which there is reason to hope for a large profit, they desire him to sell it to them for half its value, and if he refuses to let them have it, they are malicious enough to estimate the jewels when they are before the King at half their value, besides which the King AURANGZEB cares but little for stones, and loves gold

[1] Akel Kan, Mirza-Mouson, and Nali Kan, in the original. (See Book II, chap. x.)

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and silver much better. On the day of the King's festival, of which I shall elsewhere speak, all the princes and nobles of the court make him magnificent presents, and when they are unable to find jewels to buy, they present him with golden rupees, of which the King, as I have said, makes more count than of the precious stones, although precious stones constitute a more honourable present than golden coins. It is at the approach of this festival that he sends out of his treasury numerous diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and pearls, which he who values the jewels entrusts in the hands of several merchants, to sell them to the nobles, who are bound to make presents to the King, and in this manner the King receives back both the money and his jewels together.

There is still another disadvantage for the merchant jeweller. It is that after the King has seen any stones, a prince or other noble who knows of it will never buy them, and besides, while these three men appointed to view the jewels are considering and examining them in their dwellings, where he is obliged to carry them, he meets several *Banians* who are experts, some for diamonds, others for rubies, for emeralds, and for pearls, who write down the weight, quality, perfection, and colour of each piece. And if the merchant afterwards goes to the Princes and Governors of Provinces, these people send them a memorandum of all that he carries, with the price, which they maliciously place at half the true value of the things. These *Banians* are in business a thousand times worse than the Jews, and more cunning than they are in all kinds of dodges and in malice when they wish for revenge. Observe then the bad turn which these three personages played me.

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When I arrived at JAHÁNÁBÁD, one of them came to me and told me that he had the King's order to see what I brought, before being permitted to exhibit it in his presence. They wished very sincerely that the King was not at JAHÁNÁBÁD, because they would have sought to buy for themselves all that I had, in order to profit by reselling it to the King, and to the Princes when the opportunity should occur—this, nevertheless, they had never been able to obtain from me.

On the following day they all three came to see me, one after the other, and they wished to get from me amongst other things a grand bouquet of nine large pear-shaped pearls, of which the largest was thirty carats and the least sixteen, with another single pear-shaped pearl of fifty-five carats. As for the bouquet, the King took it; but with regard to the pearl, seeing that, notwithstanding all that they could say, I was unwilling to sell them anything, they so managed that before I had shown my jewels to the King, ZAFAR KHÁN, uncle of the King, saw it, after which he did not wish to return it, saying that he would pay me as highly for it as the King, asking me not to mention it; for in fact he desired to present it to the King.

After the King had selected from among my jewels those which he desired, ZAFAR-KHÁN bought several pieces from me, and at the same time purchased the great pearl. Some days afterwards he caused my payment to be made according to what had been agreed upon, with the exception of the pearl, upon which he desired me to rebate 10,000 rupees. The two Persians and the *Banian* had maliciously informed him that on my arrival they might, if they had wished, have had the pearl for 8,000 or 10,000 less than I had sold it to him

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for; this was wholly untrue, and ZAFAR KHÁN having told me that if I would not accept the money which he offered me I might take it back, I took him at his word, assuring him that during his life he would never see it again. I kept to my word, and remained firm in my resolve. That which made me so fixed was in part because I desired to carry, if I could, something considerable to SHÁISTÁ KHÁN, and if it had been permitted to me on my arrival at SURAT to go to him first, I would not have gone to see the King at JAHÁNÁBÁD, regarding which I had a great dispute with the Governor of SURAT. For when I went to salute him, he immediately told me that it would not be as on my other journeys, and that the King wished, absolutely, to be the first to see all that was curious which was brought into his kingdom.[1] I was more than four months disputing in vain with this Governor; at last I was obliged to go to visit the King, and from fear lest I should take another route they gave me fifteen horsemen to accompany me to JALOR.[2]

Having then started for BENGAL, these three inspectors of jewels, incensed with spite, and urged on, no doubt, by ZAFAR KHÁN, who was anxious to take his revenge for my refusal, wrote to SHÁISTÁ KHÁN that I was taking some jewels to show to him, and among others a very beautiful pearl which I had sold to ZAFAR KHÁN; but that he had returned it to me subsequently, having ascertained that I wished to make him pay 10,000 rupees more than it was worth. They wrote similarly regarding the other jewels which I carried, and it was upon these false and malicious advices, which SHÁISTÁ KHÁN did not receive till after he had

[1] See Book II, chap. xi. [2] See p. 87.

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delivered to me my bill of exchange, that this Prince wished to deduct 20,000 rupees from the total sum; this was reduced finally to a rebate of 10,000 rupees, with which I was obliged to content myself.

Since I have above spoken of the present which I made to SHÁISTÁ KHÁN, I ought not to be silent regarding those which I was also obliged to make to the King, to the *Nawáb* ZAFAR KHÁN, to the eunuch of the GRAND BEGUM, sister of AURANGZEB, to the Grand Treasurer, and to the attendants of the treasury. For it should be stated that whoever it may be who desires to have audience of the King, they ask, before everything else, where the present is that he has to offer to him, and they examine it to see if it is worthy of being offered to his majesty. No one ever ventures to show himself with empty hands, and it is an honour obtained at no little cost. Having arrived at JAHÁNÁBÁD I went to make my reverence to the King on the 12th September 1665, and this is the present which I made him. Firstly, a shield of bronze in high relief thoroughly well gilt, the gilding alone costing 300 ducats of gold, which amount to 1800 *livres*,[1] and the whole piece to 4378 *livres*.[2] In the middle was represented the history of CURTIUS, who threw himself, on horseback and fully armed, into the gulf which opened in ROME, and from whence a mephitic vapour emanated. On the circuit of the shield was a clever representation of the siege of ROCHELLE. It was the *chef d'œuvre* of one of the most excellent workmen in France, and it had been ordered by M. LE CARDINAL RICHELIEU. All the great nobles who were then with the King AURANGZEB were charmed with the beauty of

[1] £135. [2] £328 : 7s.

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this work of art, and they told him that he should place this rich piece on the grand elephant which carried the standard before his majesty when marching.

I also presented the King with a battle mace of rock crystal, all the sides of which were covered with rubies and emeralds inlaid in gold in the crystal. This piece cost 3119 *livres.*[1]

Also a Turkish saddle embroidered with small rubies, pearls, and emeralds, which had cost 2892 *livres.*[2]

Also another horse's saddle with the housing, the whole covered with an embroidery of gold and silver, costing 1730 *livres.*[3] The entire present which I made to the King amounted to 12,119 *livres.*

Present made to *Nawáb* ZAFAR KHÁN, uncle of the GREAT MOGUL. Firstly, a table, with nineteen pieces to make a cabinet, the whole of precious stones of diverse colours representing all kinds of flowers and birds. The work had been done at FLORENCE, and had cost 2150 *livres.*[4]

Also a ring with a perfect ruby which cost 1300 *livres.*[5]

To the Grand Treasurer a watch having a golden case covered with small emeralds, 720 *livres.*[6]

To the attendants of the treasury of the King, and to those who drew the money from the treasury, 200 rupees, which make 300 *livres.*[7]

To the eunuch of the GRAND BEGUM, sister of the King, AURANGZEB, a watch with a painted case which cost 260 *livres.*[8]

[1] £233 : 18s : 6d.
[2] £216 : 18s.
[3] £129 : 15s.
[4] £161 : 5s.
[5] £97 : 10s.
[6] £54.
[7] £22 : 10s.
[8] £19 : 10s.

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All the presents which I made, to the GREAT MOGUL,[1] to SHÁISTÁ KHÁN, and to ZAFAR KHÁN, uncles of his majesty, as also to the Grand Treasurers of the King, to the stewards of the *Khán's* houses, to the Captains of the palace gates, and further to those who on two occasions brought me the *khil át*,[2] or robe of honour, on the part of the King, and as often on the part of the BEGUM, his sister, and once on the part of ZAFAR KHÁN—all these presents, I say, amounted to the sum of 23,187 *livres*.[3]

So true is it that those who desire to do business at the courts of the Princes, in Turkey as well as in Persia and India, should not attempt to commence anything unless they have considerable presents ready prepared, and almost always an open purse for divers officers of trust of whose services they have need.

I have said nothing in the first volume of the present which I also made to him who brought the *khil'át* on the part of the King of PERSIA, to whom I presented 200 *écus*.[4]

[1] *Mogor* in the original. [2] *Khilat*, see p. 20.

[3] 23,187 *livres* at 1s. 6d. = £1739 : 0 : 6. Trade must have been profitable to have allowed such presents to be made.

[4] £45.

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CHAPTER IX

Route from SURAT *to* GOLCONDA

I HAVE made several journeys to GOLCONDA, and by different routes, sometimes by sea, from HORMUZ to MASULIPATAM, sometimes from AGRA, and most frequently from SURAT, which is the great threshold of HINDUSTÁN. I shall not speak in this chapter save of the ordinary route from SURAT to GOLCONDA, in which I include that from AGRA, which leads to DAULATÁBÁD, as I shall describe in due course, only making mention, in order not to weary the reader, of two journeys which I made in 1645 and 1653.

I left SURAT[1] on the 19th of January of the year 1645 and camped at CAMBARI (?) . . . 3 *coss.*

From CAMBARI to BARNOLI (BÁRDOLI) . 9 ,,
,, BARNOLI to BEARA (BEHÁRÁ). . 12 ,,
,, BEARA to NAVAPOUR (NAWÁPURÁ) . 16 ,,

This is the place where, as I have said, the best musk-scented[2] rice in the world grows.

From NAVAPOUR to RINKULA (?) . . 18 *coss.*
,, RINKULA to PIPELNAR (PIMPALNAR, or PIMPULNI) . . . . 8 ,,
,, PIPELNAR to NIMPOUR (NAUNPUR) . 17 ,,
,, NIMPOUR to PATANE (PATNÁ). . 14 ,,

[1] See for this part of the route, p. 49.
[2] Scented rice, see p. 50.

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From PATANE to SECOURA (SAKORÁ ?)	.	14 *coss.*
,, SECOURA to BAQUELA (WAKLÁ)	.	10 ,,
,, BAQUELA to DISGAON (DEOGÁON)	.	10 ,,
,, DISGAON to DULTABAT (DAULATÁBÁD)[1]	. . . . .	10 ,,

DAULATÁBÁD is one of the best forts in the kingdom of the GREAT MOGUL; it is on a mountain, scarped on all sides, the road which they have made to it being so narrow that only one horse or one camel can pass at a time. The town is at the foot of the mountain and has good walls, and this important place, which the Moguls lost when the Kings of BIJÁPUR and GOLCONDA revolted and threw off the yoke, was retaken under the reign of JAHÁNGIR by a subtle stratagem. SULTÁN KURUM,[2] who was afterwards called SHÁH JAHÁN, commanded the army of the King his father in the DECCAN, and AZAM KHÁN,[3] father-in-law of SHÁISTÁ KHÁN, who was one of the generals, said something to the Prince, who was so enraged that, sending at once for one of his *paposhes* or slippers, which they leave at the door, had him given five or six strokes with it on the head; this in INDIA is the highest affront, after which it is impossible for a man to show himself. All this was done through an understanding between the Sultan and the general, in

[1] Daulatábád. A town and fort in the Deccan, ten miles N.W. of Aurungábád, 170 miles N.E. of Bombay, and 28 miles N.W. of Haidarábád. Also known by the name of Deogiri or Deogar. "The hill on which the fort stands rises almost perpendicularly from the plain to a height of about 600 feet, and it is entirely isolated, though commanded by several hills to the south." The history of the changes of masters of this fort is too long for insertion here, but reference may be made to the *Gazetteer of India* for information. The distance to Daulatábád from Naunpur by these stages, measured on the map, is 94 miles—as against the 58 *coss* above.

[2] Sultán Kurum, afterwards Sháh Jahán. [3] Ast-Kan in the original.

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order better to deceive the world, and especially the spies which the King of BIJAPUR might have in the army of the Prince. The rumour of the disgrace of AZAM KHÁN being quickly spread, and he himself having gone to seek refuge with the King of BIJAPUR, the latter, not having sharp enough eyes to perceive the ruse, gave him a good reception and promised him his protection. AZAM KHÁN, finding himself so well received, asked the King to allow him for greater safety to take with him ten or twelve of his wives, and about as many servants, into the fortress of DAULATÁBÁD; this was granted to him.

He entered with eight or ten camels, the two *kajawas*[1] which are carried on either side of the camels being well closed, according to custom, so that one cannot see the women who are inside. But instead of women they had put in them good soldiers, two in each *kajawa*, all men of action;[2] of the same sort was each *Chatri*[3] who led his camel, so that it was easy for them to slaughter the garrison, who were not on their guard, and to make themselves masters of the place, which has ever since remained under the authority of the GREAT MOGUL. There are, moreover, in this place numerous fine cannons,[4] and the gunners are generally English or Dutch. It is true that there is a small mountain higher than the fortress, but it is difficult of

[1] *Cajavas* in original, for *kajawas*,—panniers used for the conveyance of women on camels.

[2] Sultán Kurum (*i.e.* Sháh Jahán) imitated, if he did not take a hint, from the tactics of the siege of Troy.

[3] *Chatre* in original, for *Chatri* = Rajput.

[4] With reference to the early use of fire-arms. General Maclagan's article on Early Asiatic Fire Weapons is full of information. (See *J. A. S. B.*, vol. xlv, 1876, p. 30.)

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approach except by passing the fortress. There was a Dutch gunner there, who after serving the King for fifteen or sixteen years asked for his dismissal from him, and even the Dutch Company, which had placed him at the service of the GREAT MOGUL, did all that it could to help him to obtain it; but it was never able to achieve this desire, because he was a very good gunner, and succeeded admirably with fireworks. The RAJA JAI SINGH,[1] who is the most powerful of all the idolatrous princes of INDIA, and who had most effectively aided AURANGZEB to ascend the throne, was sent as Commander-in-Chief of the armies of that King against the RAJA SIVAJI, and when passing near the fortress of DAULATÁBÁD[2] this Dutch gunner went to salute him, and all the gunners of the army were *Franks* like himself. The Dutchman, taking advantage of the opportunity, told the *Raja* that if he agreed to give him his dismissal he would promise to find him a means for mounting cannon on the mountain which commanded the fortress, and they had already surrounded the mountain with a wall, some soldiers having been placed within the enclosure to prevent any one taking possession of it. The *Raja*, approving of the scheme, promised him that if he should be able to accomplish it he would obtain for him his dismissal from the King with a liberal present. The matter having turned out successfully, to the Prince's content, he kept his promise to the Dutch gunner, and I saw the latter arrive at SURAT at the beginning of the year 1667, whence he embarked for BATAVIA.

From DULTABAT to AURENGABAT (AURANGÁBÁD),[3] 4 *coss.*

[1] Raja Jesseing in the original. [2] Daulatábád, see Book II, chap. xi.
[3] Aurangábád, on the Kaum river, a tributary of the Godávari, is

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AURANGÁBÁD was formerly only a village, of which AURANGZEB has made a town which is not enclosed. He made this notable increase, both on account of a lake of about 2 *coss* in circuit, upon which the village was built, and in memory of his first wife, who died there, and who was mother of his children. She is buried at the end of the lake on the western side, where the King has built a mosque with a splendid tomb and a fine *caravansarái*. The mosque and the tomb cost a large sum, because they are covered with white marble, which was brought by waggon from the neighbourhood of LAHORE,[1] and was on the road nearly four months. One day, when going from SURAT to GOLCONDA, I met, at five marches from AURANGÁBÁD, more than 300 waggons laden with this marble, the smallest of which was drawn by 12 oxen.

From AURENGABAT to PIPELI (PIPRI)	.	8 *coss*.
,, PIPELI to AUBAR (AMBÁD)[2] .	.	12 ,,
,, AUBAR to GUISEMNER (?) .	.	10 ,,
,, GUISEMNER to ASTI (ASHTÁ)	.	12 ,,
,, ASTI to SARUER (SÁOLI ?) .	.	16 ,,

situated in the dominions of Haidarábád. It is 270 miles distant from the capital, and 68 miles from Ahmadnagar. The mausoleum resembles the Táj at Agra, on a small scale. The *caravansarái* referred to is still to be seen, and is described as being a vast stone building. The distance between Daulatábád and Aurangábád is 14 miles, so that the 4 *coss* is probably a misprint for 7.

[1] There must be a mistake as to the source of this white marble, as it could not have been obtained from the neighbourhood of Lahore. I have recently seen the statement repeated in an article in the *Times*. Probably it came from one of the known localities in Rájputána in the States of Alwar, Jaipur, or Jodhpur. The Makráná quarries in the last-named State furnished, it is said, the white marble of which the Táj was built.

[2] Thevenot (*Voyage des Indes*, p. 227) describes this route, and mentions a magnificent tank at Ambád.

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From SARUER to LESONA (LASONÁ) . 16 *coss.*
„ LESONÁ to NADOUR (NANDER)[1] . 12 „

You must cross a river at NANDER which flows into the Ganges, and pay 4 rupees per waggon, besides which, in order to cross, it is necessary to have a written order from the Governor.

From NADOUR to PATONTA (?) . . 9 *coss.*
„ PATONTA to KAKERI (?) . . . 10 „
„ KAKERI to SATAPOUR (SÁNTÁPUR) . 10 „
„ SATAPOUR to SITANAGA (?) . . 12 „
„ SITANAGA to SATANAGAR (SATULÁ-NAGAR) . . . . . 10 „

It is at SATULÁNAGAR that you first enter the territories of the King of GOLCONDA.

From SATANAGAR to MELUARI (?) . . 16 *coss.*
„ MELUARI to GIRBALLI (?) . . 12 „
„ GIRBALLI to GOLCONDA . . 14 „

This route from SURAT to GOLCONDA amounts to 324 *coss.*

And I made the journey in 27 days. I took 5 more in my journey in the year 1653, having followed a different road from PIMPALNAR,[2] where I arrived on the 11th of March, having parted from SURAT on the 6th.

The 12th at BIRGAM (? ERRGAUM of A.S.)
„ 13th at OMBERAT (OOMAPURÁNAH or OOMIÁNA of A.S.)
„ 14th at ENNEQUE-TENQUE[3]—a good fortress

[1] Nander, or Nandair of A.S., is situated on the north bank of the Godávari, which flows into the Bay of Bengal, and has no connection with the Ganges, but the name Guenga—Gange was sometimes formerly applied to the Godávari itself. See p. 159.

[2] For Pimpalnar, see p. 142.

[3] Unkie and Tunkie, Unkaee and Tunkaee of A.S., are distinct villages, the former being now a station on the Ahmadnagar railway.

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which bears the names of two Indian Princesses. It is on a mountain scarped on all sides, and it has only a small path on the eastern side for the ascent. There is a tank inside the enclosure of this place, and they might sow sufficient to feed 500 or 600 men, but the King does not desire to keep it garrisoned, and they have allowed it to fall in ruins.

The 15th [March], to GEROUL. (?)

The 16th to LAZOUR (LASOOR), where there passes a river, upon which, at a cannon's shot from the eastern bank, there is one of the largest pagodas[1] in the country, where a large number of pilgrims resort daily.

The 17th [March] to AURENGABAD (AURANGÁBÁD).
,, 18th ,, PIPELGAN or PIPLY (PIPRI).
,, 19th ,, EMBER (AMBÁD).
,, 20th ,, DEOGAN (DEOGÁON ?).
,, 21st ,, PATRIS (PATRI).
,, 22d ,, BARGAN (PAUNGREE ?).
,, 23d ,, PALAM (PALLING).
,, 24th ,, CANDEAR (KANDAHÁR), a great fort, but commanded on one side by a mountain.

The 25th [March] to GARGAN. (?)
,, 26th ,, NAGOUNI (HINGÁNI ?).
,, 27th ,, INDOVE (INDORE).
,, 28th ,, INDELVAI (YEDALVOI).
,, 29th ,, REGIVALI (REDDYPULLAY).

Between these two last places there is a small river which separates the territories of the GREAT MOGUL from those of the KING OF GOLCONDA.

The 30th [March] to MASAPKIPET (MUSÁIBPET).
,, 31st ,, MIREL-MOLA-KIPET (MULLANIPET).

[1] The famous rock temples of Ellora ?

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The 1st [April] to GOLCONDA.[1]

To go from AGRA to GOLCONDA it is necessary to go to BURHÁNPUR by the route already described; from BURHÁNPUR to DAULATÁBÁD, which is not more than five or six marches, and from DAULATÁBÁD to the other places which I have mentioned.

You may take still another route to go from SURAT to GOLCONDA, that is to say, by GOA and BIJAPUR, as I shall describe in the particular account of my journey to GOA. I come now to what I have been able to remark of greatest interest in the Kingdom of GOLCONDA, and to the late wars which it has had to undertake against the neighbouring States, during the time that I was in INDIA.

[1] Thevenot's route between Aurangábád and Golconda, which he traversed about the year 1666, corresponds in parts with this one of Tavernier, but he appears to have left the regular line occasionally, to visit Pagodas, etc. (*Voyage des Indes*, pp. 235, 277.)

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CHAPTER X

Of the kingdom of GOLCONDA *and the wars which it has carried on during the last few years.*

THE Kingdom of GOLCONDA, speaking generally, is a rich country, abounding in corn, rice, cattle, sheep, fowl, and other commodities necessary to life. As there are numerous tanks, there is also an abundance of good fish, and you find more particularly a kind of smelt, which has but one bone in the middle, and is of very delicate flavour.[1] Nature has contributed more than art to make these tanks, of which the country is full. They are generally situated in somewhat elevated positions, where it is only necessary to make a dam[2] on the side of the plain in order to retain the water. These dams are sometimes half a league long, and after the season of the rains is past they open the sluices from time to time in order to let the water run into the fields, where it is received in divers small canals to irrigate the lands of private individuals.

BHÁGNAGAR is the name of the capital town of this kingdom, but it is commonly called GOLCONDA, from

[1] Probably the so-called *chela* fish, which are in reality, as I am informed by Dr. Francis Day, the fry of several different species. They constitute the whitebait of India.

[2] *Band* is the native and Anglo-Indian term applied to these dams or embankments, which are thrown across valleys and hollows in order to form collecting areas for the drainage of the country.

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the name of the fortress, which is only 2 *coss* distant from it, and is the residence of the King. This fortress is nearly 2 leagues in circuit, and maintains a large garrison. It is, in reality, a town where the King keeps his treasure, having left his residence in BHÁGNAGAR since it was sacked by the army which AURANGZEB sent against it, as I shall relate in due course.

BHÁGNAGAR is then the town which they commonly call GOLCONDA, and it was commenced by the great-grandfather of the King who reigns at present, at the request of one of his wives whom he loved passionately, and whose name was NAGAR.[1] It was previously only a pleasure resort where the King had beautiful gardens, and his wife often telling him that, on account of the river, the spot was suitable for building a palace and a town, he at length caused the foundations to be laid, and desired that it should bear the name of his wife, calling it BHÁGNAGAR, *i.e.* the Garden of NAGAR. This town is in 16° 58″ of lat.[2] The neighbouring country is a flat plain, and near the town you see numerous rocks as at FONTAINEBLEAU. A large river[3] bathes the walls of the town on the south-west side, and flows into the Gulf of BENGAL close to MASULIPATAM. You cross it at BHÁGNAGAR by a grand stone

[1] Bhágnagar, or the Fortunate City, was so called by Kutab Sháh Muhammad Kuli after a favourite mistress, whose name was, however, Bhágmati, not, as stated by our author, Nagar, which merely signifies town. It was built close to the banks of the Musi river, and became the seat of Government instead of Golconda, which is 7 miles distant. By the Persians, according to Thevenot, it was already called Haidarábád, and is so generally now. *Bagh*, a distinct word, means garden.

[2] The true latitude of Golconda is 17° 22′ N., the longitude being 78° 26′ 30″ E.

[3] The Musi river.

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bridge, which is scarcely less beautiful than the PONT NEUF at PARIS. The town is nearly the size of ORLEANS, well built and well opened out, and there are many fine large streets in it, but not being paved—any more than are those of all the other towns of PERSIA and INDIA—they are full of sand and dust; this is very inconvenient in summer.

Before reaching the bridge you traverse a large suburb called AURANGÁBÁD, a *coss* in length, where all the merchants, brokers, and artisans dwell, and, in general, all the common people; the town being inhabited only by persons of quality, the officers of the King's house, the ministers of justice, and military men. From 10 or 11 o'clock in the morning till 4 or 5 in the evening, the merchants and brokers come into the town to trade with foreign merchants, after which they return home to sleep. There are in these suburbs two or three beautiful mosques, which serve as *caravansaráis* for strangers, and several pagodas are to be seen in the neighbourhood. It is through the same suburb that you go from the town to the fortress of GOLCONDA.

When you have crossed the bridge you straightway enter a wide street which leads to the King's palace. You see on the right hand the houses of some nobles of the court, and four or five *caravansaráis*, having two storeys, where there are large halls and chambers, which are cool. At the end of this street you find a large square, upon which stands one of the walls of the palace, in the middle of which is a balcony where the King seats himself when he wishes to give audience to the people. The principal door of the palace is not in this square, but in another which is close by; and you enter at first into a large court surrounded by porticoes

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under which the King's guards are stationed. From this court you pass to another of the same construction, around which there are several beautiful apartments, with a terraced roof; upon which, as upon those of the quarter of the palace where they keep the elephants, there are beautiful gardens, and such large trees, that it is a matter for astonishment how these arches are able to carry such a weight;[1] and one may say in general terms that this house has all the appearance of a royal mansion.

It is about fifty years since they began to build a splendid pagoda[2] in the town; it will be the grandest in all INDIA if it should be completed. The size of the stones is a subject for special astonishment, and that of the niche, which is the place for prayer, is an entire rock, of so enormous a size that they spent five years in quarrying it, and they employed 500 or 600 men continually on this work. It required still more time to roll it upon the conveyance by which they brought it to the pagoda; and they told me that it took 1400 oxen to draw it.[3] I shall explain why the work is

[1] The idea of these elevated gardens was probably introduced by Persian immigrants. The gardens of Golconda with their pavilions are still famous.

[2] This is the Jamá Masjid, or Cathedral Mosque, built by Muhammad Kúli, who died in 1611.

[3] Grandpré describes how these Megalithic structures were erected in India, and there is reason to believe the same method was followed in Egypt. After the first course was laid a slope of earth was placed against it up which the stones for the second course were rolled; when they were laid, more earth was added to raise the slope again, in order to roll up the stones for the third course, and so on. When completed the building was surrounded by a mountain of clay, which had then to be removed (Comp. *Voyage in the Indian Ocean, etc.*, vol. i, p. 169, London, 1803). A very interesting account, with sketches and diagrams, of the means used by the natives for moving large masses of stone will

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incomplete.[1] If it had been finished it would have justly passed for the noblest edifice in the whole of ASIA.

On the other side of the town, from whence one goes to MASULIPATAM, there are two large tanks, each of them being about a *coss* in circuit, upon which you see some decorated boats intended for the pleasure of the King, and along the banks many fine houses which belong to the principal officers of the court.

At three *coss* from the town there is a very fine mosque where there are the tombs of the KINGS OF GOLCONDA;[2] and every day at 4 o'clock P.M. bread and *paláo*[3] are given to all the poor who present themselves. When you wish to see something really beautiful, you should go to see these tombs on the day of a festival, for then, from morning to evening, they are covered with rich carpets.

This is what I have been able to observe concerning the good order and the police which is maintained in this town. In the first place, when a stranger presents himself at the gates, they search him carefully to see if he has any salt or tobacco, because these yield the principal revenue of the king. Moreover, it is sometimes necessary that the stranger should wait for one or two days before receiving permission to enter. A soldier first gives notice to the officer who commands the guard, and he sends to the *Darogha*[4] to

be found in the *Rurki Professional Papers on Indian Engineering*, 2d Series, 1878, vol. iii, p. 1; and *Selec. Rec., N. W. P. Government*, New Series, vol. v, p. 316.

[1] See p. 163.

[2] These massive ruins command the fort of Golconda; they indicate an enormous expenditure, and some of the tombs are said to have cost £150,000.

[3] *Paláo* or *Pilláu*, Hin., a dish of rice, meat, and spices.

[4] The Prefect or Superintendent of Police.

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give him notice also. But as it often happens that the *Darogha* is engaged, or that he is taking exercise outside the town, and sometimes also as the soldier whom they have sent pretends not to have found him, in order to have an excuse for returning, and being much better paid for his trouble—the stranger is obliged to await the termination of all this mystery, and sometimes, as I have said, for one or two days.

When the King administers justice he comes, as I stated, into the balcony which overlooks the square, and all those who desire to be present stand below, opposite to where he is seated. Between the people and the wall of the palace they plant in the ground three rows of sticks of the length of a short-pike, at the ends of which they attach cords which cross one another, and no one is allowed, whosoever he may be, to pass these limits without being summoned. This barrier, which is not put up except when the King administers justice, extends the whole length of the square, and opposite the balcony there is an opening to allow those who are summoned to pass through. Then two men, who hold by the ends a cord stretched across this opening, have only to lower it to admit the person who is summoned. A Secretary of State remains in the square below the balcony to receive petitions, and when he has five or six in hand he places them in a bag, which a eunuch, who is on the balcony by the side of the King, lowers with a cord and draws up afterwards, in order to present them to his Majesty.

It is the principal nobles who mount guard every Monday—each in his turn, and they are not relieved before the end of a week. There are some of these nobles who command 5000 or 6000 horse, and

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they encamp under their tents around the town. When they mount guard each goes from his home to the *rendezvous*, but when they leave it they march in good order across the bridge, and from thence by the main street they assemble in the square in front of the balcony. In the van you see ten or twelve elephants marching, more or fewer according to the rank of him who goes off guard. There are some among them bearing cages (*howdahs*) which somewhat resemble the body of a small coach, and there are others which only carry their driver, and another man instead of the cage, who holds a sort of banner.

After the elephants, the camels follow two by two, sometimes up to thirty or forty. Each camel has its saddle, upon which they place a small *culverin*,[1] which a man, clad in a skin from head to foot, like a sort of pantaloon, and seated on the crupper of the camel with a lighted match in hand, quickly turns from side to side before the balcony where the King is.

You see coming after them the carriages, around which the servants walk on foot, after which the led-horses appear, and finally the noble to whom this whole equipment belongs, preceded by ten or twelve courtesans, who await him at the end of the bridge, leaping and dancing before him up to the square. After him the cavalry and infantry follow in good order. And as all that affords a spectacle, and has something of pomp about it, during three or four consecutive months which I have sometimes spent at BHÁGNAGAR, my lodging being in the main street, I

[1] *Culverin*, derived through Fr. *Coulevrine*, from Lat. *Coluber*, a serpent. It is a long slender gun which throws a ball to a considerable distance.

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enjoyed the amusement every week of seeing these fine troops passing, which are more or less numerous according to the rank of the noble who has been on guard in his turn.

The soldiers have for their sole garment but three or four ells of cloths, with which they clothe the middle of the body before and behind. They wear the hair long, and make a great knot of it on the head as women do, having for sole head-dress a scrap of cloth with three corners, one of which rests on the middle of the head, and the other two they tie together on the nape of the neck. They do not have a sabre like the Persians, but they carry a broadsword like the Swiss, with which they both cut and thrust, and they suspend it from a belt. The barrels of their muskets are stronger than ours, and the iron is better and purer; this makes them not liable to burst.[1] As for the cavalry, they have bow and arrow, shield and mace, with helmet and a coat of mail, which hangs behind from the helmet over the shoulders.

There are so many public women in the town, the suburbs, and in the fortress, which is like another town, that it is estimated that there are generally more than

[1] The iron at Haidarábád, at a very early period, obtained a wide renown, being, in fact, the material which, when made into steel, afforded the source of supply for the manufacture of Damascus blades—the raw material having been exported to Persia and the Panjáb for that purpose (see Jour, *As. Socy. Bengal*, vol. xvi, pp. 417, 666). Two villages, situated to the north of Golconda, namely, Nirmal and Indore, are specially mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari* as producing excellent iron and steel. In my *Economic Geology* I inadvertently identified the latter with Indore in Málwá in Central India, and the oversight was not discovered in time to be corrected in the proofs of the volume. According to Thevenot, at Indelvai, *i.e.* Yedalvoi, four leagues from Indore, quantities of swords, daggers, and lances were made and distributed thence throughout India (*Voyages des Indes*, p. 235).

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20,000 entered in the *Darogha's* register, without which it is not allowed to any woman to ply this trade. They pay no tribute to the King, but a certain number of them are obliged to go every Friday with their governess and their music to present themselves in the square in front of the balcony. If the King be there they dance before him, and if he is not, an eunuch signals to them with his hand that they may withdraw.

In the cool of the evening you see them before the doors of their houses, which are for the most part small huts, and when the night comes they place at the doors a candle or a lighted lamp for a signal. It is then, also, that the shops where they sell *tári*[1] are opened. It is a drink obtained from a tree, and it is as sweet as our new wines. It is brought from 5 or 6 *coss* distant in leather bottles, upon horses which carry one on each side and go at a fast trot, and about 500 or 600 of them enter the town daily. The King derives from the tax which he places on this *tári* a very considerable revenue, and it is principally on this account that they allow so many public women, because they are the cause of the consumption of much *tári*, those who sell it having for this reason their shops in their neighbourhood.

These women have so much suppleness and are so agile that when the King who reigns at present wished to visit MASULIPATAM, nine of them very cleverly represented the form of an elephant, four making the four feet, four others the body, and one the trunk, and the King, mounted above on a kind of throne, in that way made his entry into the town.

All the people of GOLCONDA, both men and women,

[1] *Tári*, Anglici toddy—the sap of *Phœnix sylvestris*.

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are well proportioned, of good stature, and of fair countenances, and it is only the peasantry who are somewhat dark in complexion. The KING OF GOLCONDA who reigns at present is called ABDUL KUTAB SHÁH,[1] and I will inform the reader, in a few words, whence he derives his origin. Under the rule of AKBAR, KING OF INDIA, father of JAHÁNGIR, the Moguls only extended their authority southwards to NARBEDER, and the river which passes it and, coming from the south, flows into the GANGES, separated their lands[2] from those of the *Raja* OF NARSINGHA,[3] which extended to Cape COMORIN, the other *Rajas* being, as it were, his subjects, and deriving their power from him. It is this *Raja* and his predecessors who have always been at war with those who succeeded TAMERLANE[4] in INDIA, and they were so powerful that the last *Raja* who was at war with AKBAR had

[1] Abdoul Coutou Cha in the original, for Abdul Kutab Sháh; he succeeded his father Muhammad Kuli on the throne of Golconda in A.D. 1611.

[2] This passage is obscure, owing to some jumble between the names Beder or Bidar and Narbeder (for Narbadá). The river of Beder which is referred to, and formed the boundary of the Mogul's ancient territory, was in reality the Godávari, which at one time was supposed to join the Ganges. Its real course, however, is to the Bay of Bengal, into which it flows below Coconada. See p. 147.

[3] The name of Narsingha (a prince of Telugu origin, who died 1508 A.D.) was applied by the Portuguese to the old kingdom of Vijayanagara. Its capital town, though it bore the same name, was called Bisnagar by them. It was an enormously wealthy city, and the ruins still to be seen on its site near the small village of Hampi, in the Bellary District, testify to the magnificence of its buildings. See *India in the Fifteenth Century*, Hak. Socy., pp. 25, 39, etc.; also *Anglo-Indian Glossary*.

[4] Tamerlane or Timur-lang (Temur-leng in the original), the ancestor of the Mogul Emperors, invaded India in 1398; but Bábar was the actual founder of the dynasty (1526-1530).

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on foot four armies, commanded by as many generals. The most powerful of the four had his quarters in the territories which to-day constitute the kingdom of GOLCONDA,[1] the second held his in the country of BIJAPUR, the third in the Province of DAULATÁBÁD, and the fourth in the region of BURHÁNPUR.[2] The RAJA OF NARSINGHA dying without children, these four generals established themselves each in the country which he held with his army, and caused themselves to be recognised as kings—one of GOLCONDA, another of BIJAPUR, another of BURHÁNPUR, and the other of DAULATÁBÁD. Although the *Raja* was an idolater, these four generals were Muhammadans, and he of GOLCONDA was of the sect of ALI,[3] descended from an ancient family of Turcomans, who inhabit the country of HAMADAN in PERSIA.[4]

He was, as I have said, the most powerful of all; and a few days after the death of the RAJA OF NARSINGHA they achieved a notable victory over the MOGUL, after which there was nothing to prevent them from making themselves sovereigns. But since that time JAHÁNGIR, son of AKBAR, conquered the kingdom of the new King of BURHÁNPUR;[5] SHÁH JAHÁN, son of JAHÁNGIR, that of the King of DAULATÁBÁD;[6] and

[1] The Bahmani dynasty; it lasted from 1347-1525.

[2] Bijapur, Daulatábád, and Burhánpur. A full account of these dynasties will be found in Elphinstone's *India*, vol. ii, p. 179 *et seq.*

[3] Haly in original, for Ali, *i.e.* he was a Shía.

[4] He was the first of the Kutab Sháhi Kings. He reigned for thirty years, and was assassinated at the instigation of his sons.

[5] Not quite correct as regards Burhánpur, as there were eleven Princes of the Farukhi dynasty, from its foundation by Nasir Khán in 1400 A.D. till 1600 A.D., when it was taken possession of by Akbar.

[6] Daulatábád, or Deogiri, was taken possession of in the year 1632 by Mahábat Khán, Sháh Jahán's general.

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AURANGZEB, son of SHÁH JAHÁN, a part of the territory of BIJAPUR.[1] As for the King of GOLCONDA, neither JAHÁNGIR nor SHÁH JAHÁN made war upon him, and they left him undisturbed, on the condition that he should pay to the MOGULS an annual tribute of 200,000 *pagodas*. These *pagodas* are gold pieces which are worth from 6 to 7½ *francs*[2] of our money, sometimes more and sometimes less. To-day the most powerful of the *Rajas* of this great peninsula south of the GANGES is the *Raja* of VELOW,[3] who extends his authority as far as CAPE COMORIN, and who has succeeded to a part of the states of the *Raja* of NARSINGHA; but, as there is no trade in his country, this Prince makes but little noise, and strangers hardly ever go to it. The present King of GOLCONDA has no son; he has only three daughters, who are all married.

The eldest is married to one of the relatives of the Grand *Sheikh* of MECCA,[4] and the circumstances which preceded this marriage are sufficiently curious to occupy a place in my observations. The *Sheikh* having arrived at GOLCONDA in the garb of a mendicant, remained for some months at the gate of the

[1] Bijapur was not finally taken possession of by Aurangzeb till 1686, or subsequently to the date at which our author wrote, but he had partially subdued it some thirty years before.

[2] Here we should read *livres* for *francs*, as in Book II, chap. xviii, the value of the new *pagoda* is stated to be 3½ rupees or 5¼ *livres*, *i.e.* 7s. 10½d.; and in Book II, chap. xxiv, the old *pagoda* is said to be equal to 7½ *livres*, or 11s. 3d. Independent testimony (see Appendix) gives about the same values; so that 200,000 *pagodas* would be equal to about £100,000, more or less, in exchange value.

[3] Velow appears to have been identical with Vellore in North Arcot.

[4] *Chek* of Mecque in the original; called Mirza Muhammad on p. 168.

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palace, refusing to reply to sundry people of the Court who inquired why he had come. At length the matter being reported to the King, he sent his senior physician, who spoke Arabic well, to ascertain from the *Sheikh* what he wanted, and the reason of his coming. The physician, and some nobles of the Court who also spoke to him, immediately saw that he was a man of intelligence, and took him to the King, who was much pleased with his appearance and his preliminary conversation. But at length the *Sheikh* having declared that he had come to marry the Princess, this proposition very much surprised the King, and was received by some of the Court as coming from a man who was not altogether in his senses. At first they merely laughed, but when they observed that he persisted in his demand, even threatening the country with a great calamity which would befall it if they did not give him the Princess in marriage, he was cast into prison, where he remained for a long time.

The King, at length, considering that it would be better to send him back to his own country, made him embark at MASULIPATAM on one of the vessels which carry goods and pilgrims to MOCHA, from whence they travel by land to MECCA. About two years afterwards the same *Sheikh* returned to GOLCONDA, and managed so well on this occasion that he espoused the Princess and acquired great credit in the kingdom, which he now governs, and where he is all-powerful. It was he who prevented the King from yielding up the fortress of GOLCONDA, where he had taken refuge when AURANGZEB and his son entered BHÁGNAGAR, as I shall presently relate—throwing himself upon him,

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and threatening to kill him if he did not resolve to hold out without thinking more of delivering the keys to the enemy. This bold action was the reason why the King loved him the more thereafter, and made use of his counsel in all important affairs; and thus, not only as son-in-law of the King, but as Prime Minister, he is now the principal personage in the Court of GOLCONDA. He it is who is the cause why the Great Pagoda of BHÁGNAGAR[1] has remained unfinished, having threatened the kingdom with a great calamity if they persisted in completing it.

This Prince passionately loves all those who are proficient in mathematics, and he understands them fairly well; it is the reason why, although a Muhammadan, he favours all Christians who are learned in this science, as he particularly showed with regard to the Rev. Father EPHRAIM, a Capuchin, when he was passing through GOLCONDA to go to PEGU, whither he was sent by his Superiors. He did all he could to induce him to remain in his country, and offered to build for him, at his own cost, a house and a church, representing to him that he would lack neither occupation nor parishioners, since there were then some Christian Portuguese and many Armenians who came every year for trade. But Father EPHRAIM, who had his orders to proceed onwards to PEGU, was unable to accept his offer, and when he went to take leave of the *Sheikh* he bestowed upon him a *khil'at* of the most honourable kind possible, since it included the whole suit, namely, the cap, the *cabaye* or grand robe, the *arcalou*[2] or

[1] Pagoda at Bhágnagar; see p. 153.

[2] *Cabaye*, for *Kaba* (*e-Shâhi*), *i.e.* Royal Robe. *Arcalou.* I cannot make any suggestion as to the derivation of this word.

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cassock, two pairs of drawers, two shirts, and two girdles, with a scarf to be worn round the neck and upon the head for protection against the heat of the sun. The Reverend Father was astonished at this present, and made known to the *Sheikh* that he could not wear it, the latter nevertheless desired that he should take it, and told him that he might bestow it on one of his friends. Two months afterwards I received this present from Father EPHRAIM when I was at SURAT, and I thanked him for it on the occasion of our first meeting.

The *Sheikh*, seeing that he could not detain the "Father," and not wishing to allow him to travel on foot from GOLCONDA to MASULIPATAM, as he intended, compelled him to accept an ox which he gave him, with two attendants to conduct him; and not being able to force him to accept 30 *pagodas*[1] in addition, he directed the two attendants that on arrival at MASULIPATAM they should leave with the Capuchin Father both the ox and the *pagodas*. This order they did not fail to carry out in every particular, for otherwise on their return to GOLCONDA it would have cost them their lives. I shall complete the history of Father EPHRAIM, who afterwards experienced many misfortunes, when I describe GOA, which is the principal place which the Portuguese have in INDIA.

The second daughter of the King of GOLCONDA was espoused to Sultan MUHAMMAD, eldest son of AURANGZEB. What led to the marriage was this—MIR JUMLA,[2]

[1] Say £15.

[2] Mír Jumla. Tavernier writes this name in five different ways—Mir Gimola, Mirza Mola, Mirgimola, Amir Jemla, and Mir Jemla. See Index for references. His son's name was Muhammad Amin.

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Commander-in-Chief of the army of the King of GOLCONDA, who had received from him much good service towards the establishment of his throne, on going in the direction of BENGAL to regulate some *Raja's* affairs, left in hostage with the King, according to custom, his wife and children as pledge of his fidelity. He had many daughters, but only one son, who had a considerable following and made a great figure at Court. The credit and the wealth which MIR JUMLA had acquired made him enemies, who, jealous of such good fortune, sought to destroy it in his absence, and to injure him in the esteem of the King. They told him that the power of MIR JUMLA should cause him to be suspected; that all his actions tended towards dethroning him and securing the kingdom of GOLCONDA for his son; that he ought not to wait till the evil was without remedy; and that in order to rid himself of an enemy—the more dangerous because he concealed himself—the shortest way was to poison him. The king, being easily persuaded, gave these same persons an order to accomplish the deed; but having taken their measures clumsily three or four times in succession without being able to accomplish their object, the son of MIR JUMLA at length heard of it, and at once gave notice of it to his father. It is not known exactly what command he got from his father; but after he had received his reply he went to the King, to whom he spoke out with boldness, taxing him with the services which his father had rendered him, and with the fact that without his aid he would never have come to the throne. This was true; but there was a court intrigue which would take too long to describe. This young noble, somewhat carried away from his ordinary demeanour, used such sharpness

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of expression to the King that his Majesty, offended by his insolence, rose in a rage, whilst the nobles of the Court, who were present, threw themselves on him and handled him roughly. At the same time, by order of the King, he was arrested and put in prison, with his mother and sisters; and this affair, which made a great commotion at Court, so much enraged MIR JUMLA, who soon had news of it, that, having forces at hand, and being beloved by the soldiers, he at once resolved to make use of these advantages to revenge himself for the injury. He was then, as I have said, in the direction of BENGAL, for the purpose of bringing to their allegiance some *Rajas* possessing territories on the GANGES; and SULTAN SHUJA, the second son of SHÁH JAHÁN, who was then Governor of BENGAL, was the one whom he considered it to be most suitable to address as the wisest Prince with whom he might join forces against the King of GOLCONDA, whom he no longer regarded as his master, but as the greatest of his enemies. He accordingly wrote to this Prince that if he was willing to join him he would afford him the means of taking possession of the whole of the kingdom of GOLCONDA, and that he ought not to lose so good an opportunity of increasing the Mogul Empire, the succession to which affected him as well as the other Princes, his brothers. But he did not receive a favourable reply from SULTAN SHUJA, who let him know that he did not trust the word of a man who, being capable of betraying his King, might readily betray a strange Prince whom he had attracted to his interests in order to accomplish his own revenge, and consequently he need not expect him. On receipt of this refusal of SULTAN SHUJA, MIR JUMLA wrote to AURANGZEB, who

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was then in his government of BURHÁNPUR, who, not being so scrupulous as his brother, accepted the offer which was made to him. Whilst MIR JUMLA advanced his troops towards BHÁGNAGAR, AURANGZEB marched with his by long stages towards the DECCAN, and the two armies being conjoined, they reached the gates of BHÁGNAGAR before the King had had time to put his affairs in order. He only had time to take refuge in the fortress of GOLCONDA, where AURANGZEB, after he had pillaged the town of BHÁGNAGAR[1] and removed all that was of much value from the palace, came at once to lay siege. The King, seeing himself so hard pressed, believed that he would soon have to yield; and in order to seek to turn this hurricane, which threatened his complete ruin, sent to MIR JUMLA both his wife and children with every honour. There is both virtue and generosity in INDIA as in EUROPE; and I shall give a noteworthy example of it in the person of the King of GOLCONDA. Some days after the enemy had laid siege to the fortress, a gunner perceiving AURANGZEB upon his elephant visiting the outworks, whilst the King was on the bastion, he said to the latter that if his Majesty wished he could destroy the Prince with a shot of the cannon, and at the same moment he put himself in position to fire. But the King, seizing him by the arm, told him to do nothing of the sort, and that the lives of Princes should be respected. The gunner, who was skilful, obeyed the King, and instead of firing at AURANGZEB, he killed the General of his army, who was farther in advance, with a cannon shot. This stopped the attack which he was about to deliver, the whole camp being alarmed by his death. ABDUL ZABAR

[1] Bhágnagar, the modern Haidarábád. See p. 151.

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BEG,[1] general of the army of the King of GOLCONDA, who was close by with a flying camp of 4000 horse, having heard that the enemy were somewhat disordered by the loss of their General which they had sustained, at once took advantage of so favourable an opportunity, and going at them full tilt, succeeded in overcoming them; and having put them to flight he followed them vigorously for 4 or 5 leagues, till nightfall. A few days before the death of this General, the King of GOLCONDA, who had been surprised, seeing himself pressed, and supplies being short in the fortress, was on the point of giving up the keys; but, as I have above related,[2] MIRZA MUHAMMAD, his son-in-law, tore them from his hands, and threatened to slay him if he persisted any longer in such a resolution; and this was the reason why the King, who previously had but little liking for him, thenceforward conceived a great affection for him, of which he daily gave him proofs. AURANGZEB having then been obliged to raise the siege, halted some days to rally his troops and receive reinforcements, with which he set himself to besiege GOLCONDA. The fortress was as vigorously attacked as it was vigorously defended; but MIR JUMLA, who still retained some regard for the King, and had it, as some persons say with good reason, without proclaiming it openly, did not wish to allow AURANGZEB to proceed to extremities, and by his diplomacy secured a suspension of hostilities for some weeks. SHÁH JAHÁN, father of AURANGZEB, had formerly received kind treatment from the King of GOLCONDA, with whom he had taken refuge when he had lost the battle with his elder brother against the King JAHÁNGIR, their father, with whom they had gone

[1] Abdul Jaber Beg in the original.

[2] See p. 163.

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to war. JAHÁNGIR, having got the elder brother into his power, caused his eyes to be put out; but SHÁH JAHÁN, the younger brother, being better advised, took to flight, and the King of GOLCONDA having received him with kindness, they bound themselves together in close friendship—SHÁH JAHÁN swearing to his host that he would never fight with him whatever cause might arise. MIR JUMLA, who knew that it would not be difficult to bring to an understanding two Kings who were friends, little as AURANGZEB was inclined to give way, and wishing, moreover, that that Prince should find it advantageous to himself, communicated underhand to both one and the other what he planned in order to secure a lasting peace. He managed that the King of GOLCONDA first wrote to SHÁH JAHÁN in very civil terms, praying him to become arbitrator between himself and AURANGZEB, placing his interests entirely in his hands, and promising to sign a treaty in whatever terms he pleased to frame it. By the same address of MIR JUMLA, SHÁH JAHÁN, on his side, was advised, by way of reply to the letter of the King of GOLCONDA, to propose to him the marriage of his second daughter with SULTAN MUHAMMAD, son of AURANGZEB, on condition that after the death of the King, the father of the Princess, his son-in-law should inherit the kingdom of GOLCONDA. This proposition having been accepted and the articles signed by the two Kings, both the peace and the marriage were celebrated at the same time with much magnificence.[1] As for MIR JUMLA, he quitted the service of the King of GOLCONDA, and went to BURHÁNPUR with AURANGZEB.

[1] The fine inflicted on the King of Golconda amounted, it is said, to £1,000,000 as a first instalment of an annual tribute, but was in part remitted by Sháh Jahán (Elphinstone's *India*, vol. ii, p. 412).

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Soon afterwards SHÁH JAHÁN made him first Minister of State and Commander-in-Chief of his armies, and it was he who so powerfully aided AURANGZEB to ascend the throne by defeating SULTAN SHUJA. For MIR JUMLA was a man of great intelligence, who understood equally well both war and the affairs of State.[1] I have had occasion to speak to him several times, and I have admired the firmness and the promptitude with which he responded to requests presented to him, giving his orders in every direction, and signing several despatches as if he had but one sole matter to attend to.

The third Princess of GOLCONDA was promised to SULTAN SAID, another *Sheikh* of MECCA,[2] and the matter had so far advanced that the day was named for the marriage. But ABDUL ZABAR BEG, general of the army, went to the King of GOLCONDA, with six other nobles, to turn him from his design; and they so managed it that the marriage was broken off, and the Princess was given to MIRZA ABDUL HASAN,[3] a cousin of the King, by which marriage there are two sons. This has entirely destroyed the claims of the son of AURANGZEB,

[1] He understood other matters also, for Thevenot says he possessed 20 *mans*, or 408 Dutch *livres*, weight of diamonds. He had acquired these riches when, at the head of the army of Golconda, he made war with the King of Bijapur against Bisnagar (*Voyage des Indes*, p. 306). And Bernier states that he acquired wealth in many ways, and "caused the diamond mines, which he alone had farmed under many borrowed names, to be wrought with extraordinary diligence, so that people discoursed of nothing but of the riches of Emir Jemla, and of the plenty of his diamonds, which were not reckoned but by sacks" (*Hist. of the Last Revolution, etc.*, vol. i, p. 33).

[2] Sultan Said, or Saiyid. Meaning a descendant of Muhammad.

[3] Mirza Abdul Cosing in the original. Called Miersa Abou-il-Hassan by Havart, who makes him out to have been a lineal descendant of Ibrahim, the second King of the dynasty. Quoted in *Hist. Gen. des Voyages*, vol. xiii, p. 425 *n.*

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whom the father now keeps in prison in the fortress of GWALIOR, for having betrayed his side in favour of SULTAN SHUJA, his uncle.[1] This Princess would have been given at first and with no difficulty to MIRZA ABDUL HASAN if he had not been a debauchee, the King not having then any regard for him, and making no account of him; but since the marriage he has reformed.[2]

At the present time the King of GOLCONDA does not so much fear the Moguls, because, following their example, money does not leave his country, and he has amassed much to carry on war. Besides, he is greatly attached to the sect of ALI, to the extent of not wearing a cap (or turban?) like the other Muhammadans, because they say that ALI did not wear one, but another kind of head-dress; and it is this fact which causes the PERSIANS, who arrive in INDIA in great numbers to seek their fortunes, to go by preference to the King of GOLCONDA rather than to the MOGUL. It is the same with the King of BIJAPUR, whom the Queen, sister of the King of GOLCONDA, has been careful to bring up in the same sect of ALI, which also attracts many Persians to his service.

[1] See Book II, chap. vi.

[2] Ovington, on the authority of Sheldon, an English traveller, gives a different account of the marriages of these three Princesses. Quoted in *Hist. Genl. des Voyages*, vol. xiii, p. 425.

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CHAPTER XI

Route from GOLCONDA *to* MASULIPATAM[1]

FROM GOLCONDA to MASULIPATAM it is counted to be 100 *coss* by the straight road; but when you wish to go by way of the diamond mine called COULOUR in Persian, and GANI in the Indian language,[2] it is 112 *coss*, and this is the route which I have ordinarily taken.

From GOLCONDA to TENARA,[3] 4 *coss*.

TENARA is a fine place, where there are four very beautiful houses, each having a large garden. That one of the four which is on the left of the high road is incomparably more beautiful that the three others. It

[1] Masulipatam. Thevenot gives the distance as 53 leagues. The true distance is about 210 miles, and from Madras 285 miles.

[2] *Kollur* is the modern name by which this famous site is known; it is situated on the Kistna river in Lat. 16° 42′ 30″, Long. 80° 5′. The identification was first traced out by means of the routes to it given by Tavernier here and in Book II, chap. xviii. Although all memory was lost of the true position of this mine until it was recently rediscovered, and very wild suggestions have been made on the subject, its position is correctly indicated on several maps of the beginning of the eighteenth and end of the seventeenth centuries. The question of this identification has been fully discussed in the *Economic Geology of India*, p. 16. *Gani* is not a name, though so often quoted as such in works on precious stones. It is simply a Persian prefix, signifying "Mine of" (*Kán-i*), and is known to have been used in connection with other mines. (*Vide* Index for further references.)

[3] This place appears to be the same as Atenara, mentioned in Book I, chap. xix. It is not given on modern maps. It is also mentioned by Thevenot as Tenara.

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is all built of cut stone and in two storeys, containing large galleries, beautiful halls, and fine rooms. In front of the house there is a large courtyard, somewhat like the PLACE ROYALE in PARIS. On each of the three other sides there is a large entrance, and from one side to the other a fine veranda, elevated about 4 or 5 feet above the ground and well arched over, and here travellers of the superior classes are accustomed to lodge. Above each entrance there is a grand balustrade, and a small chamber for ladies. When persons of position do not wish to occupy these dwellings, they can have their tents pitched in the gardens; and it should be remarked that only three of these houses may be occupied, for the grandest and most beautiful one is reserved for the Queen. When she is not there one may see it and walk through it, for the garden is very beautiful and contains many fine pieces of water. The whole area is laid out in this manner. There are small chambers destined for poor travellers, and every day towards evening they receive a dole of bread, rice, or vegetables already cooked; and to the idolaters, who eat nothing which has been prepared by others, they give flour to make bread and a little butter, for, as soon as their bread is baked like a cake, they cover it on both sides with melted butter.

From	TENARA to JATENAGAR (HYATNAGAR) .	12	*coss.*
,,	JATENAGAR to PATENGY (PUNTÁNGI) .	12	,,
,,	PATENGY to PENGEUL (PUNGUL) .	14	,,
,,	PENGEUL to NAGELPAR (NAGULPÁD) .	12	,,
,,	NAGELPAR to LAKABARON (LAKKÁWURRUM)	11	,,
,,	LAKABARON to COULOUR or GANI (KOLLUR) (of which I shall speak in the account of the mines) . . .	11	,,

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The greater part of the road from LAKKÁWURRUM to KOLLUR, especially as you approach KOLLUR, is rocky, and in two or three places I was obliged to take my carriage to pieces; this can be quickly done. Wherever there is a small quantity of good soil between the rocks you see *cassia* trees,[1] (the cassia produced by them) being the best and most laxative in all INDIA, this I know from the effect produced on my servants, who ate it as they walked along.

There passes along the whole length of the town of KOLLUR a great river[2] which flows into the Bay of Bengal near MASULIPATAM.

From COULOUR or GANI to KAH KALY (KÁKÁNI) 12 *coss.*
,, KAH KALY to BEZOUAR (BEZWÁDA[3]) . 6 ,,

Close to BEZOUAR you recross the river.

From BEZOUAR to VOUCHIR (WEEYUR) . . 4 ,,
,, VOUCHIR to NILIMOR (?) . . . 4 ,,

Between WEEYUR and NILIMOR, about halfway, you cross a great river upon a raft,[4] there being no boat there.

From NILIMOR to MILMOL[5] (NEDUMULU) . 6 *coss.*
,, MILMOL to MASLIPATAN (MASULIPATAM) 4 ,,

[1] *Cassia fistula* (Hind. *Amaltás*) affords a valuable laxative, its long pods are familiar objects in Indian jungles; one of the native names for them is *Bandar láthi*, or monkey's stick.

[2] The Kistná.

[3] Bezwáda on the Kistná, in Lat. 16° 30′ 50″, Long. 80° 39′, a place of much archæological interest, owing to its Buddhist and Hindu remains (see Book I, chap. xviii). It is now the site of the chief works for the irrigation of the delta of the Kistná.

[4] One of the deltaic branches of the Kistná.

[5] In Book I, chap. xviii, the distance of this place, which is there spelt Nilmol, from Masulipatam, is given as $3\frac{1}{2}$ leagues, and from thence to Wouhir (Weeyur) 6 leagues, making $9\frac{1}{2}$ leagues as against the 14 *coss.* This would give a proportion of 2 : 3, though elsewhere the two measures of distance are treated as equivalents. But on the same page the distance

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MASULIPATAM is a straggling town (*villace*), in which the houses are built of wood, and are detached from one another. This place, which is on the seashore, is only renowned on account of its anchorage, which is the best in the Bay of BENGAL, and it is the only place from which vessels sail for PEGU, SIAM, ARAKAN, BENGAL, COCHINCHINA, MECCA, and HORMUZ, as also for the islands of MADAGASCAR, SUMATRA, and the MANILLAS. It should be remarked that wheel carriages do not travel between GOLCONDA and MASULIPATAM, the roads being too much interrupted by high mountains, tanks, and rivers, and there being many narrow and difficult passes. It is with the greatest trouble that one takes a small cart. This I have done to the diamond mines, and I was obliged to take mine to pieces frequently in order to pass bad places. It is the same between GOLCONDA and CAPE COMORIN. There are no waggons in all these territories, and you only see oxen and pack-horses for the conveyance of men, and for the transport of goods and merchandise. But, in default of chariots, you have the convenience of much larger *pallankeens* than in the rest of INDIA; for one is carried much more easily, more quickly, and at less cost.

between the last-named place and Bezwáda is given as 6 hours, to a poor village called Patemet (Patamata), and 1½ league on to Bezwáda, while here the distance is given at 4 *coss*. Thus if we add in both cases we find from Masulipatam to Bezwáda is in the one case 11 leagues and 6 hours, or say about 6 leagues = 17 leagues in all; and in the other 18 *coss*. The true distance is 40 miles.

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CHAPTER XII

Route from SURAT *to* GOA, *and from* GOA *to* GOLCONDA *by* BIJAPUR

YOU may go from SURAT to GOA partly by land and partly by sea, but the road is very bad by land, especially from DÁMAN to RÁJAPUR. Most travellers take the route by sea, and taking an *almadier*,[1] which is a row-boat, they go from point to point up to GOA, notwithstanding that the *Malabaris*, who are the pirates of INDIA, are much to be feared along these coasts, as I shall presently say.

The route from SURAT to GOA is not counted by *coss*, but by *gos*, which are about equal to 4 of our common leagues.

From SURAT to DAMAN (DAMÁN) . .	7 *gos.*
,, DAMAN to BASSAIN (BASSEIN) .	10 ,,
,, BASSAIN to CHAOUL (CHAUL) .	9 ,,
,, CHAOUL to DABOUL (DABHOL) .	12 ,,
,, DABOUL to REJAPOUR (RÁJÁPUR) .	10 ,,
,, REJAPOUR to MINGRELA (VENGURLA)	9 ,,
,, MINGRELA to GOA . . .	4 ,,
This makes in all from SURAT to GOA .	61 *gos.*

The great danger which has to be encountered on

[1] *Almadier*—from Arab. *El maadiah*, a ferry-boat. Tavernier in his *Persian Travels* defines it as a small vessel of war.

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these coasts is, as I have said, the risk of falling into the hands of the *Malabaris*, who are strict Muhammadans and very cruel towards Christians. I have seen a Barefoot Carmelite Father who had been captured by these pirates. In order to obtain his ransom speedily, they tortured him to such an extent that his right arm became half as short as the other, and it was the same with one leg. The commanders only pay wages to the value of two *écus* to each soldier for the six months which they generally spend at sea, and do not share with them the prizes taken; but they are allowed to keep the garments and the food of those whom they have captured. It is true that the soldiers are permitted to leave then, and if the commanders desire them to remain they are obliged to pay them afresh. They seldom venture farther to sea than from 20 to 25 leagues, and whenever the Portuguese capture any of these pirates they either hang them straight off or they throw them into the sea. These *Malabaris* number 200 and sometimes as many as 250 men in each vessel, and they go in squadrons of from ten to fifteen vessels to attack a big ship, and they do not fear cannon. They at once come alongside and throw numbers of fire-pots on the deck, which cause much injury if care is not taken to provide against them. For as they know the habits of the pirates, immediately they see them they close all the scuttles on deck, and cover it with water, so that these pots, which are full of fire-works, cannot take effect.

An English Captain named Mr. CLERC, when coming from BANTAM to SURAT, met, in the latitude of COCHIN, a squadron of *Malabaris*, consisting of twenty-five or thirty vessels, which came forthwith and attacked

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him vigorously. Seeing that he could not withstand their first fury, he set fire to some barrels of gunpowder which he had had time to prepare, and the deck being blown up, he also blew into the sea a great number of pirates who were on it. Notwithstanding this, the others did not lose courage, and did not cease to come on board. The English Captain, seeing no other resource left, sent all his crew into two boats and remained alone in his cabin, where the pirates were unable to reach him; he then set fire to a train which he had prepared, and which led to a magazine containing a large quantity of powder. At the same time he threw himself into the sea, where he was picked up by his crew, and the vessel being on fire, all the *Malabaris* who were on it jumped into the sea; but that did not prevent the two boats, which contained about forty Englishmen, being taken by the remaining *Malabaris;* and I was at breakfast at SURAT with the English President, named FREMELIN,[1] when he received a letter from Captain CLERC, which informed him that he was enslaved by the *Zamorin*,[2] who is the most powerful King on the MALABAR coast. This Prince would not leave them in the possession of these savages, because they were in danger of their lives, on account of upwards of 1200 widows whose husbands were left behind on the two occasions that the ship was on fire. He was enabled to appease them by

[1] In the year 1639, according to Mandelslo, Mr. Metwold, who was probably the same as Mr. Methold, whose visit to the diamond mines preceded Tavernier's (see Book II, chap. xvi), resigned the Presidentship at Surat, and was succeeded by Mr. Fremling (*sic*) (*Travels into the East Indies*, English Trans., London, 1669, p. 71).

[2] *Samorin* in the original. The title of the Hindu King of Calicut, etc.

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promising them two *piastres* each[1] on account of the death of their husbands; this amounted to above 2400 *écus*, besides 4000 more required for the ransom of the Captain and the other Englishmen. The President immediately sent the money, and I saw them return, some of them in good health, and others broken down by fever. The *Malabaris* are such superstitious people that they touch nothing dirty or unclean with the right hand; this they reserve for the left, allowing the nails on it, which serve as a comb, to grow, because they have long hair like women, which they twist round the head with a small cloth having three points tied above.

Since I have mentioned DAMÁN,[2] I shall describe in a few words how this town was besieged by AURANGZEB, who reigns at present. Many believe that elephants have a great effect in war; this is undoubtedly true, but not always in the way which is imagined, for it often happens that, instead of ravaging the ranks of the enemy, they turn upon those who drive them, and who are expecting an altogether different result, as AURANGZEB experienced at the siege of this city. He had been twenty days before DAMÁN, and had arranged to make the assault on a Sunday, believing that Christians, like Jews, would not defend themselves on their Sabbath. The Commandant in DAMÁN was an old soldier who had served in FRANCE, with three of his

[1] *Piastre* = 4s. 6d.; the compensation for a husband was therefore about 9s.

[2] Damán is situated in Lat. 22° 25′ N., Long. 72° 53′ E., and is about 100 miles north of Bombay. It was sacked by the Portuguese first in the year 1531, but was rebuilt by the natives, and was subsequently retaken in 1558 by the Portuguese, since which time up to the present it has remained in their possession.

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sons whom he had with him then. There were in the place 800 men, both gentlemen and other brave soldiers, who had come from many places to take part in the defence and show their valour. For although the army of the GREAT MOGUL consisted of more than 40,000 men, he was unable to prevent relief entering DAMÁN from the sea, because he had no vessels and could not invest the place except by land. On the Sunday that he intended to make the assault, the Governor of DAMÁN, in accordance with what had been settled at the council of war, caused mass to be said immediately after midnight, and then ordered a sortie to be made with all the cavalry and a part of the infantry, who were at first to attack on the side where there were 200 elephants. They threw a quantity of fireworks among them, which frightened them so much in the darkness of the night that, without knowing whither they went, and their drivers not being able to restrain them, they turned against the besiegers with such fury that in two or three hours half the army of AURANGZEB was destroyed, and three days after the siege was raised. Since that time this Prince has not wished to have anything more to do with Christians.[1]

I have made two journeys to GOA—the first was at the end of the year 1641, the second at the beginning of the year 1648. The first time I only remained seven days, and I returned to SURAT by land. From

[1] Orientals have been known to complain of the want of observance by Europeans of the methods in warfare practised by themselves; thus, I remember to have read somewhere, I think in one of Sir Victor Brooke's books, of the indignation in Malayan countries at their stockades being carried by assault, instead of being gradually approached with due deliberation by means of other stockades.

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GOA I went to BICHOLLY,[1] which is upon the mainland; from thence to BIJAPUR, then to GOLCONDA, AURANGÁBÁD, and SURAT. I could have gone to SURAT without passing through GOLCONDA, but I was obliged to go there on business.

From GOA to VISAPOUR (BIJAPUR[2]), which one generally accomplishes in eight days . . 85 *coss.*

,, VISAPOUR to GOLCONDA, which I did in nine days . . . . . 100 ,,

From GOLCONDA to AURANGÁBÁD the stages are not so definite, for sometimes it takes sixteen, sometimes twenty, and up to twenty-five.

From AURANGÁBÁD to SURAT one does the journey sometimes in twelve days, but sometimes one is not able to accomplish it in less than fifteen or sixteen.

BIJAPUR is a large town which has nothing remarkable about it, either as regards public edifices or trade. The palace of the King is large enough indeed, but badly built, and what causes the approach to it to be difficult is, that in the moat which surrounds it, and which is full of water, there are many crocodiles. The King of BIJAPUR has three good ports in his kingdom; these are RÁJÁPUR,[3]

[1] This is the same as the Bicholi of Book III, chap. ix, where it is stated to be on the Bijapur-Goa frontier. At present Bicholim is the name of a district or subdivision of Goa territory.

[2] Bijapur, in Lat. 16° 49′ 45″ N., and Long. 75° 46′ 5″ E., is on the site of the ancient Vijayapura, which was called Visapour by early European travellers. Recently it has been made the headquarters of the Kaládgi District. It was taken possession of by Aurangzeb after Tavernier's time, namely in 1686. A full description of the ancient buildings which abound in Bijapur will be found in Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture.*

[3] Rájápur, chief town in the subdivision of the same name in the Ratnágiri District of Bombay. As a port it has deteriorated, and vessels of any size cannot come within 3 miles of the quay (*Vide*

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DABHOL,[1] and KAREPUTTUN.[2] This last is the best of all, and the sea washes the foot of the mountain, where, close to land, there is from 14 to 15 fathoms of water. On the top of the mountain there is a fort with a supply of water, and although it is commanded by nothing and is by nature impregnable, since the King has made peace with the Portuguese he has abandoned it.

KAREPUTTUN is only five days journey from GOA to the north, and RÁIBAGH,[3] where the King of BIJAPUR disposes of his pepper, is distant from KAREPUTTUN about the same to the east. The King of BIJAPUR, like the King of GOLCONDA, was a tributary of the GREAT MOGUL, but is so no longer.

This kingdom has been in trouble for some time on account of the rebellion of *Nair* SIVAJI,[4] who was, on the establishment of the King of BIJAPUR, what we call in FRANCE, Captain of the Guards. He had been guilty of misconduct, for which the King arrested him and put him in prison, where he remained for a long time till he died. The young SIVAJI, his son, thereupon conceived such a strong hatred against the King that he became a chief of bandits, and as he was

Imp. Gaz.) Mandelslo describes it as one of the chief maritime cities of the kingdom of Konkan.

[1] Dabhol or Dabul, a port in the Konkan, in Lat. 17° 34′. It is described by Mandelslo as being on the river Kalewacka (*Travels into the East Indies*, Eng. Trans., London, 1669, p. 74). See for early references, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*.

[2] Crapaten in the original, Kareputtun of Map.

[3] Rabaque in the original; Ráibagh, in Belgaum District.

[4] The original founder of the Maratha Confederacy was Shahji; he was succeeded by his son, Nair Sivaji; born in 1627, died in 1680. By his valour and treachery he won for the Marathas the suzerainty of Southern India. See for his life, Grant Duff's *History of the Marathas*, etc.

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both courteous and liberal he had as many supporters as he wished for, both cavalry and infantry, and in a short time he got together an army, the soldiers, on the report of his liberality, coming to seek him from all sides. He was in a position to undertake some enterprise, when the King of BIJAPUR died without children, and it was thus that, without any great difficulty, he became master of a portion of the MALABAR coast, including RAJAPUR, RASIGAR,[1] KAREPUTTUN, DABHOL, and other places. It is said that during the demolition of the fortifications of RASIGAR he found immense treasure, and that it was with this that he supported his forces, by whom he was well served because they were always very well paid.

Some years before the death of the King, the Queen, as she had no children, adopted a young boy, upon whom she had bestowed all her affection, and whom she brought up, as I have already said, with the greatest care in the doctrines of the sect of ALI. On the death of the King she caused this adopted son to be declared King, and SIVAJI, as he then possessed an army, continued the war, and for some time caused trouble to the regency of this Queen. But at last he made the first proposals for peace, and the treaty was concluded on the condition that he should retain all the country which he had taken, as a vassal of the King, who should receive half the revenues; and the young King, having been established on the throne by this peace, the Queen, his mother, undertook the pilgrimage to MECCA, and I was at ISPAHAN when she passed on her return.

Returning now to the journey to GOA. When I

[1] Probably Rakshasagudda in Kánara District.

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left SURAT for my second visit to GOA I embarked on a Dutch vessel called the "MAESTRICHT," which carried me to VENGURLA, where I arrived on the 11th of January 1648.

VENGURLA[1] is a large town, half a league from the sea, in the kingdom of BIJAPUR. It is one of the best anchorages in all INDIA, and it is where the Dutch came to get supplies on all occasions when they blockaded GOA, and they take in supplies there still for the vessels which they employ to trade in many parts of INDIA, for there is at VENGURLA excellent water and very good rice. This town is also much renowned on account of its *cardamons*,[2] which the orientals esteem as the best of spices, and is only found in this country, which causes this commodity to be very scarce and dear. Coarse cotton cloths for home consumption are made there too, as also a sort of matting which they call *toti*,[3] which is only used for wrapping up merchandise.

Thus it is not so much for commerce as for supplies which can be got at VENGURLA, that the Dutch Com-

[1] Mingrela in the original is Vengurla, a town and seaport, headquarters of a subdivision of the same name in the Ratnágiri District of Bombay. The Dutch settlement was founded in 1638; in 1660 the town was garrisoned by Sivaji, and in 1664 it was burnt by him in consequence of a revolt; it was again burnt by Aurangzeb in 1675. A British settlement was established there in 1772, and in 1812 the town was ceded to the British.

[2] Cardamons—the dried fruit of *Elettaria cardamomum* (Maton), a shrub belonging to the ginger family, much esteemed in the East as a spice, and largely exported to Europe for medicinal and other purposes. Called *Cargamon* in the original.

[3] *Tát* or *Tánt*, perhaps, *i.e.* the fibre known as jute, with which gunny bags are made. It is produced by *Corchorus capsularis* (Linn). Or it may be that this refers to the coarser kinds of cotton, or to hemp, such as the so-called Deccani hemp produced by *Hibiscus cannabinus*.

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pany maintain an establishment there. For, as I have said, not only all the vessels which come from BATAVIA, JAPAN, BENGAL, CEYLON, and other places, and those which sail for SURAT, the RED SEA, HORMUZ, BASSORA, etc., both in going and returning, anchor in the roads at VENGURLA, but also when the Dutch are at war with the Portuguese, and are blockading the bar at GOA, where they ordinarily keep eight or ten vessels, they send their small boats to VENGURLA to obtain provisions. For they hold the mouth of the river during eight months of the year, and nothing can enter GOA by sea during that time. It should be remarked in connection with this subject that this bar at GOA is closed for a part of the year by sand, cast up here by the south and west winds which precede the great rains, and to such an extent that there is only from a foot to a foot and a half of water for the passage of very small boats. But when the great rains begin to fall, the waters, which increase every hour, remove the sands and open the passage to large vessels.

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CHAPTER XIII

Remarks upon the present condition of the town of GOA

GOA is situated in latitude 15° 32″, in an island of six or seven leagues circuit, upon the river MANDAVI,[1] which two leagues farther down discharges itself into the sea. The island abounds in corn and rice, and produces numerous fruits, as *mangues*, *ananas*, *figues d'Adam*, and *cocos*;[2] but certainly a good pippin is worth more than all these fruits. All those who have seen both EUROPE and ASIA thoroughly agree with me that the port of GOA,[3] that of CONSTANTINOPLE, and that of TOULON, are the three finest ports of our great Continent. The town is very large, and its walls are of fine stone. The houses, for the most part, are superbly built, and this is particularly the case with the palace of the Viceroy. It has numerous rooms, and

[1] Mandoua in the original. It rises in the Parvar Ghát, in the District of Satári, and is 38½ miles long. It is the most important stream in the territory.

[2] Mangoes, pine-apples, plantains, and cocoanuts. Most persons acquainted with Indian fruits will agree with Tavernier, though some might make an exception in favour of the mango.

[3] It is not perhaps necessary to say here more than that Goa, Damán, and Diu, are the sole remaining possessions of the Portuguese in India. A very interesting account of Goa will be found in the recently published *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, and accounts of Goa as it was at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries will be found in the recent issues of the Hakluyt Society, viz. *Linschoten* and *Pyrard de Laval*.

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in some of the halls and chambers, which are very large, you see many pictures representing separately the vessels which come from LISBON to GOA, and those which leave GOA for LISBON, each with the name of the vessel and that of the captain, and the number of guns with which it is armed. If the town were not so shut in by the mountains which surround it, it would without doubt be more numerously inhabited, and residence there would be more healthy. But these mountains prevent the winds from refreshing it; this is the cause of great heat. Beef and pork afford the ordinary food of the inhabitants of GOA. They have also fowls, but few pigeons, and although they are close to the sea fish is scarce. As for confectionery, they have many kinds, and eat a large quantity. Before the Dutch had beaten down the power of the Portuguese in INDIA, one saw at GOA nothing but magnificence and wealth, but since these late comers have deprived them of their trade in all directions, they have lost the sources of their gold and silver, and are altogether come down from their former splendour. On my first journey to GOA I saw people who had property yielding up to 2000 *écus* of income, who on my second journey came secretly in the evening to ask alms of me without abating anything of their pride, especially the women, who, coming in *pallankeens*, remained at the door of the house, whilst a boy, who attended them, came to present their compliments. You sent them then what you wished, or you took it yourself when you were curious to see their faces; this happened rarely, because they cover all the head with a veil. Otherwise when one goes in person to give them charity at the door, they generally offer a letter from some religious person who

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recommends them, and makes mention of the wealth which the person formerly had, and the poverty into which she has fallen. Thus you generally enter into conversation with the fair one, and in honour bound invite her in to partake of refreshment, which lasts sometimes till the following day.

If the Portuguese had not been so much occupied with guarding so many fortresses on land, and if, in the contempt they had for the Dutch at first, they had not neglected their affairs, they would not be to-day reduced to so low a condition.

The Portuguese who go to INDIA have no sooner passed the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE than they all become *Fidalgos*[1] or gentlemen, and add *Dom* to the simple name of PEDRO or JERONIMO which they carried when they embarked; this is the reason why they are commonly called in derision "*Fidalgos* of the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE." As they change in their status so also they change in their nature, and it may be said that the Portuguese dwelling in INDIA are the most vindictive and the most jealous of their women of all the people in the world. As soon as they entertain the least suspicion about their women they will, without scruple, make away with them by poison or the dagger. When they have an enemy they never forgive him. If they are of equal strength and dare not come to a struggle, they have black slaves, who will blindly obey their master's order to go and kill any one; and this is done generally with a stroke of a dagger, or the shot of a blunderbuss, or by felling the man with a large stick of the length of a short pike which they are accustomed to carry. If it should happen that they spend

[1] Fidalgues in the original.

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too long a time in finding the man whom they wish to murder, and are unable to meet with him in the fields or in the town, then without the slightest regard for sacred things they slay him at the altar; and I have myself seen two examples of this—one at DAMÁN, and the other at GOA. Three or four of these black slaves having perceived some persons whose lives they wanted to take, and who were attending mass in a church, discharged blunderbusses at them through the windows, without reflecting whether they might not wound others who had no part in the quarrel. It happened so at GOA, and there were seven men slain near the altar, the priest who was saying mass having been seriously wounded. The law takes no cognisance of these crimes, because generally their authors are the first in the land. As for trials, they never come to an end. They are in the hands of the *Kanarins*,[1] who are natives of the country, who practice the professions of solicitors and procurators, and there are no people in the world more cunning and subtle.

To return to the ancient power of the Portuguese in INDIA, it is certain that if the Dutch had never come to INDIA you would not have found to-day a scrap of iron in the majority of the houses of the Portuguese; all would have been gold or silver, for it required them to make but two or three voyages to JAPAN, to the PHILIPPINES, to the MOLUCCAS,[2] or to CHINA, to acquire riches, and to gain on their return five or six fold, and even up to tenfold on the more important articles. Private soldiers as well as governors and captains

[1] *Canarins* in the original, sometimes called Kánarese, the inhabitants of Kánara. See *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, Art. Canara.

[2] *Moluques* in the original.

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acquired great wealth by trade. It is only the Viceroy who does not trade, or if he does, it is under the name of another; and, moreover, he has a sufficient income without it. It was formerly one of the most splendid posts in the world for a noble to be Viceroy of GOA, and there are few monarchs who are able to bestow governments worth so much as are those which depend upon this Viceroy. The first of these Governments is that of MOZAMBIQUE, and the appointment is for three years. In these three years the Governor makes a profit of 400,000 or 500,000 crowns,[1] and sometimes more, if during the time they have no losses with the Cafres.[2] These Cafres are the black people who come from many quarters of AFRICA to obtain cotton goods and hardware from the Commandant, who dwells on the RIO DE SAINE, and who is merely the agent of the Governor of MOZAMBIQUE. These Cafres bring gold for the goods which they carry away, but if one of them happens to die when going or returning, what has been entrusted to him is lost beyond remedy. The Governor of MOZAMBIQUE trades also with the Negroes who inhabit the length of the coast of MELINDA,[3] and they generally pay for the goods which they take with ivory or with ambergris.

On my last voyage to INDIA the Governor of MOZAMBIQUE, who returned to GOA after having completed the three years of his government, had a parcel of ambergris which was alone worth about 200,000 *écus*,[4] without counting the gold and ivory, which amounted to a larger sum.

[1] *I.e.* from £90,000 to £112,500. [2] Or Kaffir.

[3] Melinda. An Arab town and kingdom on the east coast of Africa, from whence Vasco da Gama, on the occasion of his first voyage, struck across the sea to India. [4] £45,000.

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The second Government was formerly that of MALACCA, on account of the dues which had to be paid there. For it is a strait where all the vessels which leave GOA for JAPAN, CHINA, COCHINCHINA, JAVA, MACASSAR, the PHILIPPINES, and other places must pass. They are indeed able to pursue another route along the western coast of the island of SUMATRA, and either traverse the Strait of SONDE,[1] or leave the island of JAVA to the north; but when the vessels return to GOA they are required to show the free pass of the MALACCA custom-house—this compels them to follow that route.

The third Government was that of HORMUZ,[2] on account of its great trade, and of the dues which all vessels had to pay, whether entering or leaving the PERSIAN GULF. The Governor of HORMUZ also levied considerable dues from those who were going to the island of BAHREN to the pearl fishery, and if they did not obtain a passport from him he sent their vessels to the bottom by means of his *galeasses*.[3] The Persians receive this tax at present with the English, who share a small part of it, as I have said in my accounts of PERSIA; but although they treat the merchants roughly, nevertheless they do not derive from this revenue nearly as much as the Portuguese did. It is the same with the Dutch at MALACCA, who experience difficulty in raising sufficient to pay for the garrison which they keep there.

The fourth Government was that of MUSCAT, which

[1] Sunda Strait, to which the attention of the world was especially directed, in the year 1883, by the violent explosive eruption of the volcano of Krakatau or Krakatoa. [2] Hormuz, see p. 3.

[3] *Galeasses*, a form of galley. See Yule-Burnell, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, Art. Gallevat; see also Index for references.

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was also one with a considerable income. For all the vessels coming to INDIA from the PERSIAN GULF, the RED SEA, and the coasts of MELINDA have to make the point of MUSCAT, and generally take in water there. If any vessels did not come to an anchor, the Governor sent to claim the custom, which was 4 per cent, and if they made any resistance they ran the risk of being sent to the bottom by his *galeasses*.

The fifth Government was that of the island of CEYLON, to which were subject all the places which the Portuguese had both on the coast of MALABAR and on the Gulf of BENGAL and other parts of INDIA, and the least of these petty Governments yielded 10,000 *écus* per annum.[1]

Besides these five principal Governments which were at the disposition of the Viceroy, he had also the patronage of a number of offices in GOA and other towns of INDIA. The day upon which he makes his entry into GOA, his Captain of the Guards receives nearly 4000 *écus*[2] of profit. The three offices of Engineer Major, of Inspector of the Fortresses, and of Grand Master of Artillery yielded 20,000 *pardos*[3] *per annum*, and the *pardo* is worth 27 *sols* of our money. The Portuguese were then all rich—the nobles on account of the governments and other offices, and the

[1] £2250. [2] £900.

[3] *Pardao*, a Portuguese name for a gold coin originally, afterwards applied to silver coins. If the *sol* may be taken as representing ·9 of a penny (see p. 34), then the *pardao* of Tavernier's time was 2s., being less in value than the rupee of 30 *sols*, which has been shown to have been 2s. 3d. Kelly, in the *Universal Cambist*, gives the value of the *pardao* at 2s. 6d., and Colonel Yule estimates it at the same figure in 1676, vide *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, *Supplement*, p. 840. This latter value would, however, proportionally raise the *sol* to upwards of a penny in value, and the rupee consequently to more than 2s. 9d.

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merchants by the trade which they engaged in, before the English and Dutch came to cut the ground from under their feet. During the time they held HORMUZ they did not allow any merchant to travel to INDIA by sea, and all were therefore compelled to take the route by land through KANDAHÁR. When the Turkish, Persian, Arab, Moscovite, Polish, and other merchants arrived at BANDAR-ABBAS, they constituted but one united body, and from it four of the most experienced were deputed to go and see all the different kinds of merchandise, and to ascertain the quality and price.

After having made their report to the others the price was settled and the goods removed, which were then distributed to each nation in proportion to the number of merchants who had come from these different countries. It is the custom throughout ASIA that nothing is sold except in the presence of a broker, and each class of goods has its own separate one. These brokers pay the money to those who have sold, and receive it from those who have bought; there are certain classes of goods for which the fee due to them is 1 per cent, others for which it amounts to 1½ and even to 2 per cent. The Portuguese then in those times made great profits, and suffered no losses from bankruptcies. As to the pirates, the Viceroy took effectual steps, for when the rains were over and the season for embarkation had arrived, according to the number of vessels laden with goods, he gave a sufficient number of *galiotes*[1] to escort them

[1] This name is derived from *Galeota* of the Portuguese. In India it took the form *Gallevat*, which has been Anglicised into Jolly-boat, as is explained by Colonel Yule and Mr. Burnell in the *Anglo-Indian Glossary*. The Calcutta boatmen pronounce it *Jallybote*. See p. 191.

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to sea for from 25 to 30 leagues—the *Malabaris* not going farther from the coast than 15 or 20. The captains of the *galiotes* and even the marines did some little trade during the voyage, and as they paid no customs, they were able to acquire something to maintain themselves in comfort during the rains, when they had to remain in quarters. There was also a good arrangement for the military, by which the soldiers were promoted, for all those who had come from PORTUGAL, after nine years of service, received some appointment at sea or on land, and if they did not wish to accept of it they were permitted to travel as merchants. If there happened to be among them any one of intelligence, he did not fail to acquire a fortune, having all the credit he could desire, and he found numbers of people very willing to employ their money, giving it to him on the chance of 100 per cent profit on his return from a journey. If the vessel was lost, those who had lent lost their money or their goods, but, when it arrived safely, for one *écu* they received three or four.

The people of the country called *Kanarese* do not hold any offices under the Portuguese save in reference to law as agents, solicitors, or scribes, and they are kept in subjection. If one of these *Kanarese* or black men struck a white or European, there was no pardon for him, and he had to have his hand cut off. Both Spaniards and Portuguese, especially the Spaniards, use them as receivers and men of business, and in the islands of MANILLA or PHILIPPINES there are blacks so rich that some of them have offered the Viceroy up to 20,000 *croisats*[1] for permission to wear hose and

[1] Croisart (of Genoa), so called on account of the cross on it; it was worth about 6s. 6d., and 20,000 = £6500.

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shoes—this was not allowed them.[1] You see certain of these blacks with bare feet, though followed by thirty slaves, and superbly clad; and if the Portuguese had been pleased to allow them to equip vessels, and to appoint the captains and other officers according to their own wishes, the former would not have made so many conquests in INDIA, or at least would not have made them so easily.

These blacks have much intelligence and are good soldiers, and the clerics have assured me that they learn more in the colleges in six months than the Portuguese children do in a year, whatever the science may be to which they apply themselves.[2] It is for this reason that the Portuguese keep them down.

The natives of the country about GOA are idolaters, and do homage to many kinds of idols, of which I have given likenesses in this book,[3] saying that the idols resemble those who have done good works in former times, to whom they should offer homage by adoring their portraits. There are many of these idolaters who worship monkeys, and also, in many parts of INDIA, as I have elsewhere said, they have built pagodas, which have been endowed in order to feed a certain number, besides others from outside, which come twice a week in order to obtain food.[4] In a village of the island of SALSETTE,[5]

[1] The shoe question, we see, was in these early times as in latter days a burning one.

[2] The same may be said of the native youth of the present, who far outstrip those of European parentage in the acquirement of learning before man's estate is reached.

[3] These portraits are not to be found in any of the editions of Tavernier with which I am acquainted.

[4] See p. 104.

[5] This is apparently not the island north of Bombay called Salsette, famous for its caves in the trap rock, and for the possession of a tooth of Buddha, but a district of the same name in Goa territory.

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there was a pagoda in which the idolaters kept, in a kind of tomb made of silver, the bones and nails of a monkey which, they said, had rendered great services to their gods by the diligence with which he conveyed news and advice from one to the other,[1] when persecuted by some hostile princes, even to the extent of traversing the sea by swimming. People came from many parts of INDIA in procession to this idol to make offerings to this pagoda; but the clergy of GOA, and especially the Inquisitor, went one day to carry away this tomb and brought it to GOA, where it remained some time on account of the dispute which it gave rise to between the ecclesiastics and the people. For when the idolaters offered to give a large sum to ransom their relics, the people were of opinion that it should be accepted, because they said it could be used to make war against their enemies or for assisting the poor; but the clergy held a contrary opinion, and maintained that for no reason whatever should this idolatry be permitted. At length the Archbishop and the Inquisitor of their own authority removed the tomb, and, having put it on a vessel which went out about 20 leagues from land, it was thrown into the sea. They would have burned it, but that the idolaters would have been able to collect the ashes, which would have served as material for some new superstition.

There are in GOA numbers of people connected with the Church, and besides the Archbishop and his clergy you see Dominicans, Augustins, Cordeliers, Barefoot Carmelites, Jesuits, and Capuchins, who are like the Recollects, with two houses of nuns, of which the Augustins are the Directors. The Carmelites, who

[1] This refers to *Hanumán* and the traditions of the *Rámáyana*.

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are the last comers, are the best situated of all, and, if they are a little removed from the heart of the town, they have otherwise the advantages of enjoying fresh air, and of having the most healthy house in all GOA. It is on a fine elevation, where the wind blows about it, and is well built, with two galleries, one above the other. The Augustins, who were the first comers in GOA, were well situated at the base of a small elevation, their church being on the main street with a handsome square in front. But the Jesuits, having built a house, begged the Augustins to sell them the elevated ground, which was then unoccupied, under pretext of wishing to make a garden for the recreation of their scholars; and, having at length purchased it, they built a splendid college, which shut out the convent of the Augustins, and prevented it from receiving any fresh air. They have had great disputes with one another over this matter, but the Jesuits have at length gained their case.

The Jesuit Fathers are known at GOA by the name of Paulists, on account of their grand church dedicated to St. Paul. They do not wear hats nor three-cornered caps as in EUROPE, but a kind of cap which resembles, in form, a hat from which the brim has been removed, and it is somewhat like the caps of the slaves of the GRAND SEIGNEUR, which I have described in my account of the *Seraglio*. They have five houses in GOA, which are, the College of ST. PAUL, the Seminary, the Monks' House, the Noviciate, and the BON JESUS. The paintings of the ceiling of this last church are admirable. In the year 1663 the greater part of the College was burnt by an accident which happened in the night, and it cost them near 60,000 *écus* to rebuild it.

The hospital at GOA was formerly renowned

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throughout INDIA; and, as it possessed a considerable income, sick persons were very well attended to. This was still the case when I first went to GOA; but, since this hospital has changed its managers, patients are badly treated, and many Europeans who enter it do not leave it except to go to the tomb. It is but a short time since the secret of treating by frequent bleedings has been discovered; and it is practiced according to need up to thirty or forty times, as long as bad blood comes, as was done to myself on one occasion when at SURAT; and as soon as the bad blood is removed, which is like an aposthume, the sick person is out of danger. Butter and meat are to him as poison, and if he eats of them he puts his life in danger. Formerly some small *ragouts* were made for the convalescent, but they must nowadays content themselves with beef-tea and a basin of rice. Generally all the poor people who begin to recover their health cry out from thirst, and beg for a little water to drink; but those who wait upon them, who are at present blacks or *Mestifs*[1]—avaricious persons, and without mercy—do not give a drop without receiving something, that is to say, unless some money is placed in their hands, and to give colour to this wickedness they give it in secret, saying that the physician forbids it. Sweets and confectionery are not wanting, but this does not contribute much to the establishment of health, which in a hot country rather requires nourishing food.

I forgot to make a remark upon the frequent bleedings in reference to Europeans—namely, that in order to recover their colour and get themselves into perfect

[1] For Mestiços = Half-castes (see p. 206).

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health, it is prescribed for them to drink for twelve days three glasses of . . .—one in the morning, one at midday, and one in the evening; but, as this drink cannot but be very disagreeable, the convalescent swallows as little of it as possible, however much he may desire to recover his health. This remedy has been learnt from the idolaters of the country, and whether the convalescent makes use of it or not, he is not allowed to leave the hospital till the twelve days have expired during which he is expected to take this drink.

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CHAPTER XIV

Concerning what the Author did during his sojourn at GOA *on his last journey in* 1648.

TWO days before my departure from VENGURLA for GOA I wrote to M. DE SAINT AMANT, the chief engineer, to beg him to arrange to have an armed boat sent for me, on account of the *Malabaris* who infest these coasts; this he immediately did. I departed from VENGURLA on the 20th of January 1648, and arrived at GOA on the 21st. As it was late, I postponed till the morrow going to pay my respects to the Viceroy DOM PHILIPPE DE MASCAREHNAS, who had formerly been Governor of CEYLON. He received me well, and during nearly two months which I spent at GOA, on five or six occasions he sent a gentleman to conduct me to the POWDERHOUSE, outside the town, where he very often resided. He took pleasure in showing me guns and other things of that nature, regarding which he asked my opinion; and, among several presents which I made to him on my arrival, he was specially pleased with a pistol very curiously and richly decorated. When passing ALEPPO, the French Consul had given it to me as a present, its fellow having been unfortunately lost. It was a present which the nation intended to make to the *Pasha*, who would have been able to boast the possession of a pair of the most beautiful and best made pistols in all

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ASIA. The Viceroys of GOA do not permit any one, whoever he may be—not even their own children—to sit at their table; but in the hall where they take their meals there is a small space partitioned off, where covers are laid for the principal officers, as is done in the Courts of the Princes of GERMANY. On the following day I went to pay a visit to the Archbishop, and I set apart the day after for that which I owed to the Inquisitor. But when I went to his house he sent one of his gentlemen to say that he much regretted that he was unable to see me upon that day on account of the despatches which he was preparing for PORTUGAL, and which were waited for by two vessels that were about to sail. Nevertheless, if it was in reference to a matter of conscience, he would leave everything in order to speak to me. Having informed the gentleman that I had only come to pay my respects, and wishing to withdraw at once, he begged me to tarry a moment; and after he had reported what I had said to him to the Inquisitor, he returned to assure me, on the part of his master, that the latter was much obliged to me, and that as soon as the vessels had started he would send to let me know, so that we might have our interview at leisure.

As soon as the vessels had left, the same gentleman came, on the part of the Inquisitor, to tell me that the latter would expect me at about two or three P.M. in the house of the Inquisition, for he dwelt in another, and both houses are very magnificent. I did not fail to be at the place indicated at the prescribed hour; and on my arrival a page appeared, who conducted me into the great hall, where, after I had walked up and down for about a quarter of an hour, an officer came to conduct me into the room where the Inquisitor was. After

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having passed through two grand galleries and some suites of rooms, I entered a small chamber where the Inquisitor awaited me, seated at the end of a large table, made like a billiard table, and both the table and all the furniture of the room were covered with green cloth brought from ENGLAND.

As soon as I entered he told me that I was welcome, and after I had presented my compliments he asked me what my religion was. I replied that I professed the Protestant religion. He then asked me whether my father and mother were also of the same religion, and having replied that they were, he repeated that I was welcome, calling out to some persons who were close by that they might come in. At the same moment a corner of the curtain was lifted, and I caught sight of ten or twelve persons who were in a small chamber at the side. The first who entered were two Augustin friars, who were followed by two Dominicans, two Barefoot Carmelites, and some other ecclesiastics, to whom the Inquisitor straightway explained who I was, that I had no forbidden books with me, and that, being aware of the order to that effect, I had left my bible at VENGURLA. We conversed together for more than two hours concerning many things, and particularly regarding my travels, all the company telling me that they enjoyed hearing the recital. Three days afterwards the Inquisitor sent to invite me to dine with him at a fine house which is situated at half a league from the town, and belongs to the Barefoot Carmelites. It is one of the most beautiful buildings in INDIA, and I shall relate in a few words how these monks acquired possession of it. There was in GOA a nobleman whose father and grandfather had made much by trade, who built this house, which

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might be regarded as a splendid palace. He did not desire to marry, and, not caring for anything but religion, he was most frequently with the Augustines, for whom he manifested such affection that he made a will by which he bequeathed them all his wealth, provided that on his death they would inter him on the right side of the great altar, where they were to make him a splendid tomb. According to common report this gentleman was a leper—a report which some persons diligently spread, seeing that he had given all his goods to the Augustines. It was said that the place on the right side of the altar was for a Viceroy only, and that it was not proper to place a leper there, to which the public generally and some even of the Augustines assented. Some Fathers of the convent having gone to speak to him in order to beg him to select some other place in the Church, the gentleman was so annoyed by the suggestion that he never returned to the Augustines, and went to his devotions with the Barefoot Carmelites, who received him with open arms, and accepted the conditions which the others had refused.

He did not live long after he had made friends with these monks, who buried him with magnificence, and succeeded to all his property, including this superb mansion, where we were splendidly entertained with music during the repast.

I remained at GOA from the 21st of January to the 11th of March, on the evening of which day I quitted it, after taking leave of the Viceroy. I also begged leave for the departure of a French gentleman named DU BELLOY, which was granted me; but by his imprudence, this gentleman, who had not told me why he was at GOA, had a very narrow escape of being

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brought back, and I of being carried along with him, before the Inquisition. The following is the way in which he came to INDIA, and his history as he told it to me: He had left his father's house in order to visit HOLLAND, where, having spent more than he ought, and not meeting any one who would lend him money, he resolved to go to INDIA. He enlisted under the Dutch Company as a common soldier, and arrived at BATAVIA at the time when the Dutch were fighting with the Portuguese in the island of CEYLON. As soon as he had arrived he was included among the recruits who were being sent to that island, and the General of the Dutch troops, seeing a reinforcement of brave soldiers commanded by a French captain named ST. AMANT, full of courage and experience, resolved to lay siege to NEGUMBO,[1] one of the towns in the island of CEYLON. Three successive assaults were made upon it, in which all the Frenchmen bore themselves bravely, especially ST. AMANT and JEAN DE ROSE, who were both wounded.

The Dutch General, recognising in these two, men of courage, promised them as a reward that if NEGUMBO were taken one of them would be made Governor of it. The place having been taken the General kept his promise to ST. AMANT, but the news of it having been sent to BATAVIA, a young man who had only recently arrived from HOLLAND, and who was a relative of the General, was appointed Governor of NEGUMBO, to the prejudice of ST. AMANT, and came, bringing orders from the Council at BATAVIA to displace him. ST. AMANT, finding himself thus treated, deserted with

[1] Negumbe in the original, it is Negumbo, a town and fort about 20 miles north of Colombo in Ceylon.

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fifteen or twenty soldiers, the majority of whom were French, and among them MM. BELLOY, DES MARESTS, and JEAN DE ROSE, and went over with them to the PORTUGUESE army. This small number of brave men gave courage to the PORTUGUESE, who advanced to the attack of NEGUMBO, from whence they had been driven, and took it at the second assault. At this time DOM PHILIPPE DE MASCAREHNAS was Governor of the island of CEYLON, and of all the places dependent on PORTUGAL. He lived in the town of COLOMBO, and having received letters from GOA which informed him of the death of the Viceroy, with an invitation from the Council and all the nobility to take the vacant place, before leaving he desired to see ST. AMANT and those whom he had brought over in order to reward them. DOM PHILIPPE was a gallant gentleman, and when he had seen them he resolved to take them with him to GOA, either because he thought he would have there the best opportunity of promoting them, or because he liked to have with him a body of resolute men on account of the *Malabaris*, who were lying in wait for him with about forty vessels, whereas he had but twenty-two. When near CAPE COMORIN the wind became so contrary, and so violent a tempest arose, that the whole fleet was dispersed, and many vessels were unhappily lost. Those who were in that of DOM PHILIPPE exercised all their skill to bring it to land, but seeing that they were unable to accomplish their object, and that it was breaking up, ST. AMANT, with five or six others of his companions, which number included DES MARESTS, DU BELLOY, and JEAN DE ROSE, threw themselves into the sea with cords and pieces of wood, and managed so well that

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they saved DOM PHILIPPE, and they themselves also escaped together with him. To shorten this long story, on their arrival at GOA, DOM PHILIPPE, as soon as he had made his entry as Viceroy, gave to ST. AMANT the post of Grand Master of Artillery and Inspector-General of all the fortresses belonging to the Portuguese in INDIA. He subsequently brought about his marriage to a young girl, with whom he received a fortune of 20,000 *écus*. Her father was an Englishman, who had quitted the service of the Company, and had married the illegitimate daughter of a Viceroy of GOA. As for JEAN DE ROSE, he asked the Viceroy to send him back to COLOMBO, where, by his permission, he married a young *Mestive*[1] widow, who brought him a large fortune. DOM PHILIPPE, who had a very high opinion of DES MARESTS, having witnessed the gallant acts which he performed, and the several wounds which he received at the siege of NEGUMBO, made him Captain of his bodyguard, which was the best office at the Court. It may be added that he was especially indebted for his own life to him, DES MARESTS being the one who saved him from the wreck by taking him on his shoulders. DU BELLOY asked to be permitted to go to MACAO, which was granted to him. He had heard that some of the nobility retired thither after having acquired fortunes by trade, that they received strangers well, and that they loved gambling, which was DU BELLOY'S own strongest passion. He remained two years at MACAO, greatly enjoying himself, and when his cash ran low these nobles lent him some willingly. One day, after winning about 6000 *écus*,[2] and going back to play, he had the misfortune to lose all,

[1] Mestive, for Mestiços, half-castes, see p. 198.]

[2] £1350.

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and a considerable sum besides, which his friends had lent him. When he realised his loss, and that no one was willing to lend him more, he began to swear at a picture which was in the room, and which represented some holy subject, saying, in the rage common to the majority of players, that this picture which was before his eyes was the cause of his loss, and that if it had not been there he would have won. Forthwith the Inquisitor was informed, for in all the towns in INDIA which belong to the Portuguese there is one of these officials, whose power, however, is limited, for he has only authority to arrest the person who has said or done anything against religion, to examine the witnesses, and to send the offender with the informations by the first ship which starts for GOA. There the Inquisitor-General has the power to acquit him or to condemn him to death. DU BELLOY was accordingly put on a small vessel of ten or twelve guns with his feet in irons, while the captain was warned that he should watch him well, and would be personally answerable for him. But as soon as they got to sea, the captain, who was a gallant man, and knew that DU BELLOY was of good family, caused his irons to be removed, and even made him eat at his table, taking care to supply him with clean linen and the clothes necessary for the voyage, which lasted some forty days.

They arrived at GOA on the 19th of February 1649, and the vessel had scarcely reached port when ST. AMANT came on board on the part of the Viceroy, both to receive the letters and to get news of what was going on in CHINA. His surprise was great on seeing DU BELLOY in this condition, and learning that the

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captain would not allow him to land till he had made him over to the Inquisitor. Nevertheless, as ST. AMANT then possessed great authority, by force of his entreaties he obtained permission from the captain for DU BELLOY to go with him to the town. DU BELLOY purposely again put on his old clothes, which were all in rags and full of vermin, and ST. AMANT, who knew that it would not do to play with the Inquisition, went first to present him to the Inquisitor, who, seeing this gentleman in so poor a condition, took some pity on him, and allowed him the run of the town as his prison till he should see what had been written regarding him, on condition that he should return when required to do so. After these proceedings ST. AMANT brought DU BELLOY to my lodging, as I was on the point of going out to see the Bishop of MIRE (*i.e.* MYRA in LYCIA), whom I had formerly known at CONSTANTINOPLE when he was guardian of the Franciscans of GALATA. I asked them to wait my return for a while, and to dine with me, which they did, after which I offered board and lodging to M. DU BELLOY, who stayed with me, and I ordered three suits of clothes and whatever linen was necessary for him. I remained eight or ten days longer at GOA, during which it was impossible for me to induce M. DU BELLOY to put on the new clothes. But he would never tell me why, whilst from day to day he promised me to put them on. Being on the point of departure I told him I was about to take leave of the Viceroy, and he besought me earnestly to try to obtain permission for him to go too. I did so willingly and successfully. We left the same evening in the vessel in which I had come, and immediately M. DU BELLOY began taking off his old clothes and putting

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on the new ones, threw his old ones into the sea, and continued swearing against the Inquisition without my knowing the reason, for I was still unaware of what had passed. In my amazement at hearing him swear in this manner, I told him that he was not yet out of the hands of the Portuguese, and that he and I, with my five or six servants, would never be able to defend ourselves against the forty men who rowed our boat. I asked him why he swore in this way against the Inquisition, and he replied that he would tell me the whole story from beginning to end; this he did when we reached VENGURLA, where we arrived at eight o'clock in the morning. Having landed, we found some Dutchmen with the Commander, who had come to the seashore to eat oysters and drink Spanish wine. They asked me at once who it was whom I had with me. I told them that he was a gentleman, who, having come with the French Ambassador to PORTUGAL, had embarked for INDIA with four or five others, who were still at GOA, and that, as neither his residence in the town nor the manners of the PORTUGUESE were pleasing to him, he had asked me to help him to get back to EUROPE. Three or four days later I bought him a country mount, *i.e.* an ox, to enable him to go to SURAT, and I gave him an attendant to serve him, with a letter to the Capuchin, Father ZENON, begging the Father to give him, through my broker, 10 *écus* a month for his expenditure, and to obtain from the English President permission for him to embark on the first opportunity. This, however, did not come about, for Father ZENON took him back to GOA when he went thither on the business of Father EPHRAIM his comrade, of which I shall speak in the next chapter,

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Father ZENON thought, no doubt, that DU BELLOY,[1] by showing himself to the Inquisition and asking pardon, would obtain it easily. It is true that he did obtain it, but only after being two years in the Inquisition, and coming out of it wearing a brimstone-coloured shirt with a great St. Andrew's cross on the front of it. He had with him another Frenchman called Maitre LOUYS DE BAR-SUR-SEINE, who was treated in the same fashion, and they both had to go in procession with those who were led to torture. M. DU BELLOY had done ill in returning to GOA, and did much worse in showing himself at VENGURLA, where the Dutch, who had learnt that he had previously escaped from their service, by the advices which they had received from the Commander at SURAT, seized him immediately, and placed him on a vessel which was going to BATAVIA. They said that they had sent him to the General of the Company to be disposed of as that officer should think proper. But I know on good authority that when the vessel was a short distance from land they put this poor gentleman into a sack and threw it into the sea. This, then, was the end of M. DU BELLOY, but that of M. DES MARESTS had nothing tragical about it, as will be seen from his history, which I shall relate in a few words.

M. DES MARESTS was a gentleman of DAUPHINÉ, from the neighbourhood of LORIOL, who, having fought a duel, and having killed his man, fled into POLAND, where he did some gallant acts, which secured for him the esteem and affection of the General of the Polish

[1] M. de la Boullaye le Gouz is referred to on p. 224 as the person who accompanied Father Zenon to Goa, but the occasion was apparently different from this one.

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army. At this time the GRAND SEIGNEUR kept two Polish Princes as prisoners at CONSTANTINOPLE in the Castle of the SEVEN TOWERS, and this General, knowing the valour and skill of DES MARESTS, who was enterprising, and a good engineer into the bargain, proposed to him to go to CONSTANTINOPLE to see if by any means he could manage to get the Princes out of prison. DES MARESTS accepted this commission very willingly, and he would no doubt have had the good fortune to succeed if he had not been discovered by certain Turks, who accused him of having been seen examining the SEVEN TOWERS with too much attention, and with pencil in hand making a plan in order to accomplish afterwards some evil design. It had been sufficient to cause the destruction of this gentleman if M. DE CESI, the Ambassador of France, had not so arranged that the matter was promptly stifled by a present (this is in TURKEY the most sovereign remedy in such troublesome matters), and by representing that he was a young gentleman who was travelling for his pleasure, and proposed going to PERSIA by the first opportunity he could meet with. It was not, however, the intention of the SIEUR DES MARESTS to go farther, and he was waiting his opportunity to return to POLAND after having done all that was possible to get the Princes out of prison; but to escape from the hands of the Turks it was necessary to say that he was going to PERSIA, and to act in such a manner that he did in fact go thither.

The GRAND SEIGNEUR had resolved never to give liberty to these Princes, but they were lucky enough at length to find means of winning over a young Turk, son of the Captain of the SEVEN TOWERS, to whom the

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father generally entrusted the keys to open and close the doors of the prison. On the night destined for their flight this young man pretended to lock certain doors, but left their padlocks open, afterwards taking the keys to his father; but he did not dare to do the same to the two principal doors—at one of which the captain with the main guard was stationed—for fear of being discovered. This young man, who was entirely devoted to these Princes, having well considered his plans, had made timely provision of rope-ladders in order to get over two of the walls. But for that purpose it was necessary to have some correspondence outside, and also some one inside who shared this important secret. As the severest rigour was not observed towards these Princes they were allowed to receive some dishes from the kitchen of the French Ambassador, and the groom of the kitchen, who was in the plot, having sent them on different occasions some pastry filled with ropes, they made ladders to aid them in their escape. The matter was so well planned and so well carried out that it succeeded, and the young Turk followed the Princes into POLAND, where he became a Christian, and received an ample reward in appointments and money. It was the same in proportion with the others who had aided in the escape of the Princes, and the latter, when they reached POLAND, made ample acknowledgment of the services which had been rendered to them by each individual.

In due course M. DES MARESTS arrived at ISPAHAN, and having first addressed himself to the Rev. Capuchin Fathers, they brought him to my lodging, where I offered him a room, with a place at my table. He made some sojourn at ISPAHAN, during which he

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made acquaintance with the English and Dutch, who manifested a high regard for him, as he well deserved. But it happened one day that, his curiosity having made him undertake too rash an adventure, he nearly brought destruction on himself, and with himself on all the *Franks* at ISPAHAN. Near the *caravansarái* where we lodged is a large bath to which men and women go by turns on certain days, and where the Queen of BIJAPUR, during her sojourn at ISPAHAN on her return from MECCA,[1] was very fond of going to talk with the wives of the *Franks*, because the garden of her house was in contact with the bath where they generally went. The SIEUR DES MARESTS, passionately desiring to see what passed there amongst these women, satisfied his curiosity by means of a crevice which he had observed in the roof of the bath, where he went sometimes; and mounting from outside upon this roof, which was flat, and such as I have described in my accounts of the Seraglio and of PERSIA—by a hidden way which adjoined the *caravansarái* where we were dwelling, he lay down on his stomach and saw by this crevice, without being himself perceived, that which he so much desired to behold. He went in this way ten or twelve times, and not having been able to restrain himself from telling me one day, I warned him against returning, and told him that he was risking his own destruction, and with himself the destruction of all the *Franks*. But instead of profiting by my advice, he went again two or three times, and on the last occasion he was discovered by one of the women of the bath, who had charge of the sheets, and who in order to dry them upon the poles which project from the roof, had

[1] See p. 183.

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ascended by a small ladder which led to the top. Seeing a man thus stretched out she seized his hat and began to cry aloud; but the SIEUR DES MARESTS, to extricate himself from so dangerous a scrape, and to hinder the woman from making more noise, made a sign to her to be silent, and promptly placed in her hands two *tomans*,[1] which by good luck he had with him out of the money which I had given him for his expenses. When he returned to the *caravansarái* I saw he had a scared appearance, and concluding that something unpleasant had happened to him, I pressed him to say what it was. He told me with some reluctance, and at length admitted that he had been discovered by this woman, but had sought to silence her with money. He had no sooner made this confession than I told him he must at once take flight, and that the danger was very much greater than he supposed. The Dutch Commander, whom it was desirable to inform how the matter had occurred, in order to apply a quick remedy to an evil of which we feared the too prompt results, advised his immediate departure, and we gave him a mule and as much money as he required to enable him to reach BANDAR,[2] and to embark there on the first vessel which sailed for SURAT. I gave him a letter of recommendation to the English President, who was a friend of mine, and whom I asked to advance him up to 200 *écus* if he should require them. I spoke very well of him in my letter, and I made mention of the offer which the Dutch Commander had made him at ISPAHAN, to send him to BATAVIA with letters to the

[1] *Toman*, £3 : 9s.; see p. 24. The *toman* was not a coin, as might be inferred from this, but a money of account.

[2] *I.e.* Bandar Abbás, or Gombroon; see p. 3.

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General, who would not fail to give him employment according to his merit; and, as a matter of fact, at this time, the Dutch being at war with the Portuguese in the island of CEYLON, a man of courage and intelligence like M. DES MARESTS would be very useful to them. He was therefore strongly pressed to accept employment from them, and they showed him great kindness, caressed him much, and made him presents during his sojourn at ISPAHAN. But at length he told them that, not being of their religion, he felt some scruple in serving them against the Portuguese, and that it was the only reason that prevented him from accepting the offers which they so kindly made him. The letters which I gave him for the English President contained all this account; and the SIEUR DES MARESTS wishing to go to serve the Portuguese, the President, who wrote in his favour to the Viceroy, by whom he was much liked, laid stress to him upon the offer of the DUTCH, in order to render this gentleman more acceptable. The Viceroy also gave him a good reception, and the SIEUR DES MARESTS making known to him that he desired to go to the island of CEYLON and take service in the Portuguese army, he left by the first opportunity with very favourable letters from the Viceroy for DOM PHILIPPE DE MASCAREHNAS, who was then still Governor of all the places which the Portuguese possessed in the island and its neighbourhood. He arrived three days after they had lost NEGUMBO, and when the Portuguese retook the place, as I have above said, the SIEUR DES MARESTS was one of those who received most wounds and acquired most glory. It was he also who did most to save DOM PHILIPPE from the shipwreck; and DOM PHILIPPE,

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having become Viceroy, thought that he deserved no less a recompense than the office of Captain of his Guards, in which he died three or four months afterwards. He was deeply regretted by the Viceroy, by whom he was much loved, and he left all his property to a priest with whom he had established a very close friendship, on condition that he paid me 250 *écus* which I had lent him; this I had nevertheless much difficulty in obtaining from the hands of the priest.

During my sojourn at GOA they told me the history of a *caravel*[1] which had arrived a short time previously, having come from LISBON. When she was about to make the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE she was caught by a storm which lasted five or six days, and this so much upset the sailors that they knew not where they were. At length they entered a bay 30 leagues away from the Cape,[2] where they found numerous dwellings, and as soon as they had anchored they beheld all the beach lined with men, women, and children, who showed their astonishment at seeing white people, and a vessel like the *caravel*. The difficulty was that they could only understand one another by signs, and after the Portuguese had given to these *Cafres* tobacco, biscuits, and spirits, they brought on the following day numerous ostriches and other birds which resembled large geese, but which were so fat that they had scarcely any lean upon them.[3] The feathers of these birds are very

[1] "The Portuguese *caravel* is described by Bluteau as a round vessel (*i.e.* not long and sharp like a galley) with lateen sails, ordinarily of 200 tons burthen" (Yule-Burnell, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*).

[2] In Book II, chap. xiv, it is stated that this voyage was made in 1648, and that the distance was 18 or 20 leagues from the Cape!

[3] It seems probable that these were penguins, of which one if not two species are still found near the Cape of Good Hope. See Book III, chap. xxvii.

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handsome, and those of the belly good for stuffing beds. One of the Portuguese sailors who was in this vessel sold me a large cushion of these feathers, and told me all that had happened in the bay, where they remained twenty-seven days. They made some presents to the *Cafres* from time to time, such as knives, hatchets, false coral, and false pearls, in the hope of finding if any trade could be established, and particularly if gold was to be obtained,—for they saw some among these people who had pieces of it in their ears, hammered on both sides, like nails (rivets) of a lock. They took two of these *Cafres* to GOA, as I shall presently relate, and I saw one who had these pieces of gold in each ear in five or six places. This sailor told me that there were also some of the women who wore them at the tip of the chin and in the nostrils. Eight or nine days after the Portuguese had arrived in the bay the *Cafres* brought them small pieces of ambergris, a little gold, and some elephants' teeth—but very small—ostriches and other birds, and some deer.[1] As for fish, they had a great quantity. They did all that they could by signs to ascertain where they obtained this ambergris, which was very choice. The Viceroy showed me a small piece which did not weigh half an ounce, but he told me he had never seen any so good. They also tried hard to discover from whence the gold was obtained,—for as regards the elephants' teeth they had no difficulty, seeing, as they did every morning, numerous elephants which came to drink at a river that discharged itself into this bay. At length the Portuguese, after a sojourn of three weeks,[2] seeing that through inability to under-

[1] *Cerfs.* These must have been antelope, as there are no deer in that part of Africa.

[2] In Book II, chap. xiv, fifteen days.

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stand one another it was impossible for them to discover anything, resolved to make sail with the first favourable wind. There being always some of these *Cafres* on the vessel, because the crew were liberal to them with tobacco, biscuit, and spirits, two were carried off to GOA, in the hope that they would be able to learn Portuguese, or that some child who might be placed with them would acquire their language. The sailor told me that when they had set sail, the *Cafres*, observing that they carried off two of their people, who apparently were persons of consequence, tore their hair, striking themselves on the stomach like people in a frenzy, yelling and howling in a horrible manner. But, having arrived at GOA, they were never able to learn the Portuguese language, and thus nothing was ever ascertained from them regarding the special knowledge which it was hoped would be obtained of the country from whence the Portuguese carried away only about two pounds of gold and three pounds of ambergris, with thirty-five or forty elephants' teeth. One of these *Cafres* survived only six months, and the other but fifteen, both having died of sorrow and pining. All that I have ascertained of this history was by means of M. DE ST. AMANT, Engineer and Inspector-General of all the Portuguese fortresses in INDIA, who had in his service this same sailor who told me of this new discovery.

From GOA I returned to VENGURLA, from whence I went to BATAVIA, as I shall elsewhere relate,[1] wishing to give a full account of all that occurred to me during the voyage, and on my return by sea from BATAVIA to EUROPE. But I should not forget one

[1] See Book III, chaps. xxvii. and xxviii.

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thing which happened at VENGURLA during the nine days I spent there, before I departed for GOA in the vessel which was sent to me by M. DE SAINT AMANT.

An Idolater having died, and the fire being ready in the pit to burn the body according to their custom, his wife, who had no children, having obtained the permission of the Governor, went to the pit with the priests and her relatives in order to be burnt with the body of her husband. While they made the three circuits which they are accustomed to make round the pit, there fell suddenly such heavy rain that the priests, wishing to withdraw, threw the woman into the pit. But the rain was so heavy and of such long duration that it put out the fire, and the woman was not burnt. Having risen at midnight, she knocked at the house of one of her relatives, where several Dutchmen and the Capuchin Father ZENON went to see her. She was in a frightful condition, hideous and disfigured, but the pain she had already suffered did not prevent her from going, attended by her relations, to be burnt two days later. I shall speak fully of this barbarous superstition in the discourse on the religion and the ceremonies of the Idolaters.[1]

[1] See Book III, chap. ix.

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CHAPTER XV

History of Father EPHRAIM, *Capuchin, and how he was cast into the Inquisition at* GOA

THE *Sheikh*[1] who had married the eldest of the Princesses of GOLCONDA not having been able, as I have said, to induce the Rev. Father EPHRAIM to stay at BHÁGNAGAR, where he offered to build him a house and church, gave him an ox and two servants to convey him to MASULIPATAM, where he expected to embark for PEGU, according to the order which he had received from his Superiors. But not finding any vessel by which he could go, the English managed so well that they attracted him to MADRAS, where they have a fort named FORT ST. GEORGE,[2] and a general office for all dependencies on the kingdom of GOLCONDA and the countries of BENGAL and PEGU. They represented to him that he would have a greater harvest to reap there than in any other part of INDIA to which he could proceed, and they built him a good house and a church. But in reality the English were not so much seeking

[1] See pp. 161-164.

[2] Madraspatan in original, Madras and Fort St. George. The first British settlement dates from 1639, when a site for a factory was granted to Mr. Francis Day by Sri Ránga Ráyal, Raja of Chandagiri. Up to 1653 the settlement was subordinate to the Chief of Bantam in Java; but it was then raised to the rank of a Presidency. For its subsequent growth and development reference may be made to the *Imperial Gazetteer* and "*Madras in the Olden Times*," by Talboys Wheeler, Madras, 1882.

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the good of Father EPHRAIM as their own; and you must know why they wished to keep him among them. MADRAS is only half a league from ST. THOMÉ,[1] a small maritime town on the COROMANDEL coast, fairly well built, and belonging at that time to the Portuguese.

Its trade was considerable, especially in cottons, and it possessed many artisans and merchants, the majority of whom would have been very glad to dwell with the English at MADRAS, but for the fact that they had no opportunities at that time for the exercise of their religion in that place. But since the English built this church and kept Father EPHRAIM, there were many of these Portuguese who left ST. THOMÉ, attracted principally by the great care which this devout man took to instruct the people, preaching to them every Sunday and on all festivals, both in Portuguese and in the language of the country—a thing which was very unusual to them when they dwelt at ST. THOMÉ. Father EPHRAIM came from AUXERRE,[2] and was a brother of M. DE CHATEAU DES BOIS, Counsellor of the Parliament of PARIS, and he had a happy genius for all kinds of languages, so that in a short time he acquired both English and Portuguese in perfection. The Ecclesiastics of ST. THOMÉ, seeing that Father EPHRAIM enjoyed a high reputation, and that he attracted by his teaching a large number of their flock away to MADRAS, conceived so much jealousy towards him that

[1] Saint Thomé now forms a part or suburb of Madras city, and is known as Little Mount by the English, and Mylapore, or the city of peacocks, by the natives. It is about three miles from the fort; probably Tavernier meant to say a league and a half instead of half a league.

[2] Auxerre, in the northern part of the province of Burgundy, on the banks of the Yonne.

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they resolved to ruin him; and the following is the means which they made use of to accomplish their object:—The English and Portuguese being such close neighbours, they naturally had occasional differences, and generally both nations employed Father EPHRAIM to settle these, because he was a man of peace and of good sense, and knew both languages perfectly. One day the Portuguese purposely picked a quarrel with some English sailors, whose ship was in the ST. THOMÉ roads, and who were well beaten. The English President demanding satisfaction for this insult, strife began to kindle between the two nations, and would have ruined all the trade of the country if the merchants on both sides had not set themselves to arrange the affair, knowing nothing of the vile plot which some individuals were weaving to catch Father EPHRAIM. But all the goings and comings of these merchants availed nothing, and by the intrigues of the Portuguese ecclesiastics, it was so managed that the Father got mixed up in the matter, became the mediator, and undertook to conduct the negotiations between both sides—a part which he very readily undertook. But he had no sooner entered ST. THOMÉ than he was seized by ten or twelve officers of the Inquisition, who placed him in a small armed frigate, which at once set sail for GOA. They put irons on his feet and hands, and they were twenty-two days at sea without once permitting him to land, although the majority of those on the frigate slept on shore nearly every night, because they sail from place to place along these coasts. When they arrived at GOA, they waited till dark to land Father EPHRAIM and conduct him to the house of the Inquisition, for they feared lest by landing him in the daytime the people

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might have wind of it, and might come to release a person so venerated in all that part of INDIA. The report spread in many directions that Father EPHRAIM the Capuchin was in the hands of the Inquisition, and as there arrived daily at SURAT many people from the Portuguese territories, we were among the first to receive this news, which astonished all the *Franks* who were there. He who was most surprised and most annoyed of all was Father ZENON the Capuchin, who had formerly been a companion of Father EPHRAIM; and after having consulted regarding the affair with his friends, he resolved to go to GOA at the risk of himself falling into the hands of the Inquisition. It was in truth to risk it; for after a man is shut up in the Inquisition, if any one has the hardihood to speak for him to the Inquisitor, or to any member of his Council, he is himself immediately placed in the Inquisition, and is regarded as more criminal than him for whom he wished to speak. Neither the Archbishop of GOA nor the Viceroy himself dare interpose, and these are the only two persons over whom the Inquisition has no power. But if it happens that they do anything which gives offence, the Inquisitor and his Council write to PORTUGAL,[1] and, if it be so ordered by the King and the Inquisitor-General, when the answers arrive, proceedings are taken against these dignitaries, and they are remanded to PORTUGAL.

Father ZENON was therefore not a little embarrassed, and knew not how to make the journey, having no

[1] This passage has been rendered intelligible by collation with the French edition of 1713. In that of 1676 it is evidently incomplete, in consequence of the omission of a word. "L'Inquisiteur et son Conseil en Portugal," should be "l'Inquisiteur et son Conseil *ecrivent* en Portugal," etc.

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companion to leave in his place nor to take with him, for it was then the season of contrary winds, and the attacks of the *Malabaris* are always to be feared. He at length set out, having to go twenty-five or thirty days by land, and took as companion M. DE LA BOULLAYE LE GOUZ,[1] of whom I have spoken in my account of PERSIA. The Father paid his expenses to GOA, for his purse had been empty for a long time, and he would never have reached SURAT without the aid of the English and Dutch and other *Franks*, who gave him money at ISPAHAN.

Having arrived at GOA, Father ZENON was at first visited by some friends whom he had there, who, knowing of the object of his journey, advised him to be careful not to open his mouth on behalf of Father EPHRAIM, unless he wished to go to keep him company in the Inquisition. Every one knows the strictness of this tribunal, and not only is it not permitted, as I have said, to speak for one whom they hold prisoner, but moreover they never confront the accused with those who give evidence against him, nor even allow him to become acquainted with their names. Father ZENON perceiving that he was unable to accomplish

[1] On p. 210 Tavernier has mentioned M. du Belloy as the person whom Father Zenon took with him to Goa from Surat, when he went there to obtain the release of Father Ephraim. His visit to Goa, when he was accompanied by Francis de la Boullaye le Gouz, was a different occasion. From Goa they went to Rájápur, where they were imprisoned, and it was only on their return to Surat, or rather to Souali (*i.e.* Swally), that Father Zenon heard of the imprisonment of Father Ephraim. Tavernier writes the name Boulaye le Goût.

Tavernier's statement about the poverty of le Gouz is also possibly incorrect, as the latter records that he refused an offer of money from the Viceroy of Goa. See his *Voyages*, Paris, 1653, and the *Biographie Universelle*, *s.v. Gouz* (*François de la Boullaye le*).

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anything at GOA, advised M. DE LA BOULLAYE to return to SURAT, and made over to him 50 *écus* which he was to give at PARIS to the widow of M. FOREST who had died in INDIA. Accordingly, he left for SURAT by the first opportunity, and Father ZENON went straight to MADRAS to find out more exactly all that had passed in connection with the arrest of Father EPHRAIM. When he had ascertained the treachery which had been practised upon Father EPHRAIM at ST. THOMÉ, he resolved to get to the bottom of it, and went without the knowledge of the English President to confide his plan to the captain who commanded in the fort, and who, like the soldiers, was much enraged at the outrage which had been perpetrated on Father EPHRAIM. Not only did the captain strongly approve of the plan of Father ZENON, but he promised to give it his support and to back him in its execution. The Father, by means of the spies whom he had placed in the country, ascertained that the Governor of ST. THOMÉ went every Saturday, early in the morning, to say his prayers in a chapel half a league from the town, and situated on a small hill, which is dedicated to the holy Virgin. He caused three iron gratings to be placed on the window of a small room in the convent, with two good locks on the door and as many padlocks, and having taken all these precautions he went to the captain of the fort, an Irishman[1] of great personal bravery, who kept the promise he had made him to aid in the ambuscade which had been laid for the Governor of ST. THOMÉ. He himself headed thirty of his soldiers, and accompanying Father

[1] Possibly the name of this Irish captain appears in the records of the period, but to these I have not had access.

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ZENON they all went out of the fort together towards midnight, and concealed themselves till daylight in a part of the mountain upon which this chapel of the holy Virgin was situated, where they could not be seen. The Governor of ST. THOMÉ did not fail, according to his custom, to go to the chapel shortly after sunrise, and having got out of his *pallankeen* and ascended the hill, which was rough, on foot, he was immediately seized by the Irish captain and his soldiers, who emerged from the ambuscade with Father ZENON, and carried him off to MADRAS to the convent of the Capuchins, and put him in the chamber which had been prepared for him. The Governor, much surprised to find himself carried off in this manner, protested strongly against Father ZENON, and threatened him with the resentment which the King of PORTUGAL would evince when he heard what he had dared to undertake against a Governor of one of his towns. This was his daily discourse during the time he was kept in the cell, and Father ZENON simply replied that he believed he was much more gently treated at MADRAS than Father EPHRAIM was in the Inquisition at GOA, whither he, the Governor, had sent him; that he had only to cause the Father to be brought back, and they would replace him at the foot of the hill where he had been seized, with as much right as the others had little to carry off Father EPHRAIM. However, for five or six days the ST. THOMÉ road was crowded with people who came to beseech the English President to exercise his authority and release the Governor. But the President would not make any other reply than that he was not in his hands, and that after their action towards Father EPHRAIM he was unable in common justice to compel Father ZENON

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to release a person who was one of the authors of the injury which had been done to his companion. The President contented himself with asking the Father to have the goodness to permit his prisoner to come to eat at his table, with a promise to hand him over into his hands whenever he wished; this request he obtained easily, but was unable afterwards to keep his promise. The drummer of the garrison, who was a Frenchman, and a merchant of MARSEILLES named ROBOLI, who was then in the fort, two days after the Governor of ST. THOMÉ had entered it, offered him their services to aid him to escape, provided that they were well rewarded for it; this he promised them, and also that they should have a free passage on the first vessel which went from GOA to PORTUGAL. The agreement being made, on the following day the drummer beat the reveille at an earlier hour than usual, and with great noise, and at the same time the merchant ROBOLI and the Governor, with their sheets tied together, let themselves down by the corner of the bastion, which was not high. The drummer at the same time left his drum and followed them nimbly, so that ST. THOMÉ being only a good half league[1] from MADRAS, they were all three inside it before anything was known of their departure. The whole population of ST. THOMÉ made great rejoicings at the return of the Governor, and immediately despatched a boat to GOA to convey the news. The drummer and the merchant ROBOLI set sail forthwith, and when they reached GOA bearing the letters of the Governor of ST. THOMÉ in their favour, there was not a convent nor a wealthy house which did not make them presents,

[1] See p. 221 *n.*

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and even the Viceroy himself, DOM PHILIPPE DE MASCAREHNAS, treated them kindly, and invited them to embark on his vessel in order to take them to PORTUGAL with him; but all three, namely, the Viceroy and the two Frenchmen, died at sea.

I shall say in passing that there never was a Viceroy of GOA half so rich as DOM PHILIPPE DE MASCAREHNAS. He possessed a quantity of diamonds —all stones of great weight, from 10 to 40 carats; two notably, which he showed me when I was at GOA. One of them was a thick stone, weighing 57 and the other 67½ carats, both being fairly clear, of good water, and Indian cut. The report was that this Viceroy was poisoned on the vessel, and it was added that it was a just punishment for his having made away with many persons in the same manner, especially while he was Governor in the island of CEYLON. He always kept some of the most subtle poison to use when he wished that his vengeance should be prompt; and having on that account made many enemies, whom the fate of those he had murdered caused to fear for themselves a similar treatment, he was one morning hung in effigy at GOA, when I was there in the year 1648.

In the meantime the imprisonment of Father EPHRAIM made a great sensation in EUROPE. M. DE CHATEAU DES BOIS, his brother, complained of it to the Portuguese Ambassador, who not feeling too sure of his position, wrote promptly about it to the King his master; so that, by the first vessels which left for GOA, it was ordered that Father EPHRAIM should be released. The Pope also wrote saying that if he were not set free he would excommunicate all the

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clergy of GOA. But all these letters were of no avail,[1] and Father EPHRAIM had only the King of GOLCONDA, who loved him and who had done all he could to induce him to remain at BHÁGNAGAR, to thank for his liberty. The King had learnt from him some mathematics, like the Arab Prince, his son-in-law, who had offered to build a house and church for the Father at his own expense.[2] This he had since done for two Augustin clerics who had come from GOA. The King was then at war with the *Raja* of the Province of CARNATICA, and had his army close to ST. THOMÉ, and as soon as he had heard of the evil trick which the Portuguese had played on Father EPHRAIM he sent an order to MIR JUMLA, the General of his troops, to lay siege to ST. THOMÉ, and to kill and burn all if he could not obtain a definite promise from the Governor of the place that in two months Father EPHRAIM would be set at liberty. A copy of the order of the King was sent to the Governor, and the town was so alarmed that there was to be seen nothing but boat after boat setting forth for GOA in order to urge the Viceroy to take measures that Father EPHRAIM should be promptly released. He was accordingly, and messengers came to him to tell him, on the part of the Inquisitor, that he might leave. But although the door was open to him he refused to quit the prison till all the clerics of GOA came to bring him forth in procession. This they at once did, and after he had come out he went to pass fifteen days in the Convent of the Capuchins, who are a kind of Recollects. I have heard Father

[1] The Pope's mandates were often disobeyed by Jesuits in the East. (See *Memoirs of the Christian Church in China*, by Rev. R. Gibbings, B.D., Dublin 1862.)

[2] See p. 163.

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EPHRAIM say many times that that which distressed him most during his imprisonment was to witness the ignorance of the Inquisitor and his council when they examined him, and he believed that not one of them had ever read the Holy Scriptures. They had placed him in a cell with a Maltese, who was one of the greatest criminals under heaven. He did not speak two words without scoffing at God, and he passed all the day and a part of the night in smoking tobacco, which could not have been otherwise than most unpleasant to Father EPHRAIM.

When the Inquisition seizes any person he is at once searched, and all that is found in his house in the way of furniture and effects, belonging to him, is inventoried to be returned to him should he be found innocent. But as regards anything of the nature of gold, silver, or jewels, it is not written down, and is never seen again, being taken to the Inquisitor for the expenses of the trial. The Rev. Father EPHRAIM when entering the Inquisition was searched, but there were only found, in the pocket which these monks have sewn to their cloaks, and is situated in the middle of the back, a comb, an inkhorn, and some pocket handkerchiefs. It was not remembered that the Capuchins have also a small receptacle in the mantle under the armpit, where they place some small requisites, and Father EPHRAIM was not searched in that direction. This left him four or five lead pencils which are covered with wood, for fear lest they should be broken, and as the pencil is used you pare off the wood to uncover it.[1]

[1] This description shows the rarity of lead pencils at the time. Possibly they were of metallic lead, not of graphite, the former having been first used, and having bequeathed its name to the latter.

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These pencils afforded a means whereby Father EPHRAIM was less wearied during his imprisonment than he otherwise would have been, and that, squint-eyed as he was, he went out with a vision in which there appeared to be scarcely any defect. It is the custom in the Inquisition to go every morning to ask the prisoners what they wish to eat that day, and it is then given to them. The Maltese cared for little besides tobacco, and he asked for it at morning, noon, and night, which were the times when their food was taken to them. This tobacco was all cut and packed in white paper nearly of the size of a quarter of a page, for throughout all the East tobacco in powder, and all drugs and other wares which can be so treated, are wrapped in white paper; this tends to the profit of the seller, who weighs the paper and the goods together. It is for this reason that so much paper is used in ASIA, and it is the principal article of trade of the people of the provinces,[1] who send theirs even to PERSIA. I make these remarks in reference to Father EPHRAIM, who carefully collected all these pieces of white paper in which the tobacco was packed, which was brought to the Maltese, and it was upon them he wrote with his pencil his daily thoughts in the prison. This was partly the cause that his sight lost much of its natural defect, and when I beheld him again I had at first a difficulty in believing that he was the same Father EPHRAIM who had been much squint-eyed previously, as he appeared to be so no longer. The cell where he was confined had for sole window a hole of 6 inches square, with bars of iron, this hole was so placed that when

[1] The word in the original is provençaux, and is, accordingly, somewhat obscure.

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Father EPHRAIM wished to write he could only have light on the side which was opposite to that where he ordinarily directed his sight; and so it was that by degrees it became right; thus he derived by this fact some advantage from his imprisonment.[1] The Inquisitor was unwilling either to lend him a book or to give him the end of a candle, and treated him as sternly as he did a criminal who had already twice gone out of the Inquisition with a sulphur-coloured shirt and the cross of St. Andrew on the front in order to accompany to execution those who were to die, but who had entered it for the third time. It may be said to the glory of Father EPHRAIM that much patience as he had in his prison so much had he of discretion and charity after he went out of it; and whatever evil the Inquisition had done to him, he was never heard to speak ill of it, nor even to make the least complaint, much less had he ever thought of writing anything about it, which would have made public many things not tending to the glory of what the Portuguese call *La Sanctissima Casa.* Moreover, as I have said, all those who leave the Inquisition are made to swear to say nothing of what they have seen, nor of what has been asked them, and, without breaking their oaths, they cannot speak or write of it.

Father EPHRAIM having passed fifteen days at GOA in the Convent of the Capuchins, to regain some strength, after fifteen or twenty months spent in prison, then set out to return to MADRAS; and, when passing

[1] The interesting point in this story is altogether lost by the inaccuracy of the English translation of 1684 by John Phillips, which says that "he lost the *sight* of one of his eyes through the darkness of the chamber."

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GOLCONDA, went to thank the King and the Arabian Prince, his son-in-law, for the kindness they had shown in interesting themselves so much on account of his freedom. The King again begged him to stop altogether at BHÁGNAGAR, but perceiving that he wished to return to his convent at MADRAS, he gave him, as on the first occasion, an ox, attendants, and money for his conduct thither.[1]

[1] Ample testimony exists of the good repute in which these two French Capuchins, Fathers Ephraim and Zenon, lived in Madras. In the consultations of the Council, dated 4th April 1678, reference having been made to the troubles caused by Portuguese Popish priests, who meddled in the affairs of the town and were a cause of disturbance, it was resolved to remove some of them and to confirm the authority of Fathers Ephraim and Zenon, they being "*men that have ever behaved themselves with all due respect to the Government of the place and the English interest.*"

Again, on Monday the 12th December 1715, the President, Edward Harrison, Esq., published a categorical statement of charges made in France against these Capuchins and others, and to the first article charging them with misbehaviour, etc., he replies:—"*We are obliged to declare that the Capuchin Fathers above-named, who have had the care of this Mission in the city of Madras, from the first establishment thereof to the present time, by permission of our Right Honourable Masters, have always demeaned themselves in so humble a manner, both in spiritual and temporal affairs, as to give no just cause of complaint to us their representatives; their conduct has been regular and agreeable to their profession, nor have we ever heard of or remarked any action of theirs that could occasion the least scandal to their order.*" (See *Madras in the Olden Times*, by Talboys Wheeler, pp. 59 and 338.)

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CHAPTER XVI

Route from GOA *to* MASULIPATAM *by* COCHIN, *described in the history of the capture of that town by the Dutch.*

AFTER the Dutch Company had despoiled the Portuguese of all they possessed in the island of CEYLON, they cast their eyes on the town of COCHIN, in the territory of which the variety of cinnamon called bastard[1] grows, as it had injured the sale of that of CEYLON. The merchants, finding that the Dutch valued their cinnamon at so high a price, began to buy that of COCHIN instead, which they obtained very cheaply; and this cinnamon, as it gained a reputation, was carried to GOMBROON, where it was distributed among the merchants who came from PERSIA, GREAT TARTARY, MOSCOVIE, GEORGIA, MINGRELIA, and all the neighbourhood of the BLACK SEA. There was also a large quantity of it taken by the merchants of BASSORA and BAGDAD, which supplied ARABIA, and by those of MESOPOTAMIA, ANATOLIA, CONSTANTINOPLE, ROUMANIA, HUNGARY, and POLAND. In all the countries which I have named much cinnamon is consumed, for it is put either in pieces or in powder into the majority of dishes to heighten the flavour. When a dish of rice is served on the table,

[1] This is the wild cinnamon (*Cinnamomum iners*), which is common in the forests of the Konkan and Travancore.

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especially in Lent among the Christians, it is so covered with powdered cinnamon that one cannot recognise what it is, and the Hungarians exceed in this respect all other nations. As for the Turks and other Asiatics, they place the cinnamon in small pieces in their *pillaus*.

The army which was sent from BATAVIA to the siege of COCHIN disembarked at a place called BELLI-PORTO,[1] where there was a fort which the Dutch had made with palms. It is close to KRANGANUR,[2] a small town which the Dutch had taken the previous year, without having conquered COCHIN, upon which they had made some attempt. When the army landed it advanced within range of the guns of COCHIN, and there was a river between it and the town. The place where the Dutch encamped was called BELLE ÉPINE,[3] and having entrenched themselves as far as the nature of the place permitted, they put some batteries in position which could not injure the town, because they were too far from it. They remained in this position until reinforcements came, for three ships only had arrived, and he who commanded these first troops was one of the bravest captains of his time. A few days after the Governor of AMBOYNA[4] arrived with two ships, and afterwards a Dutch captain brought a number of *Chinglas*,[5] who are the people of the island of CEYLON. For the forces

[1] This Col. Yule informs me is probably for Vaipur or Beypúr.

[2] Cranganore in the original; Kranganur or Kodungulur, see p. 237. Both Cranganore and Kodungaloor are given on the A.S., as though they applied to different towns 2 or 3 miles apart.

[3] This Col. Yule identifies with the Vaypine of Baldæus. It is Vaipion, or Vyepu of A.S., an island close to Cochin.

[4] Amboina in the original, Amboyna, an island in the Molucca Sea, with, according to Dutch returns, a population of about 30,000. (See Crawfurd's *Dictionary*.)

[5] Singalese.

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of the Dutch in INDIA would not be so considerable as they are if they did not make use of the people of the country, with whom they augment the troops which are brought from EUROPE. Those of the island of CEYLON are good for the trenches, but for an attack they are useless. Those of AMBOYNA are good soldiers, and 400 of them who came were left at BELLE ÉPINE. The bulk of the army re-embarked, and landed near COCHIN in the vicinity of a church dedicated to ST. ANDRÉ, where the Portuguese with some *Malabaris* awaited the Dutch with resolution. When they saw that the enemy landed without any fear they fired a discharge and then fled, but as they only aimed at the boats the Dutch did not lose many men. The Dutch seeing some companies of Portuguese marching on the sea-coast, and others farther inland in the direction of a church which was called ST. JEAN, ordered some horsemen to go to reconnoitre them, but the Portuguese had fled and had set fire to the church, abandoning all to the Dutch. The latter then approached the town, and a French soldier named CHRISTOFLE, who was in their pay, seeing a basket attached to a rope which was hung from a bastion, went boldly to see what it had inside, without fearing musket shots. But he was much surprised when he found that it was a poor famished infant which the mother had placed there in order to escape the sorrow of seeing it die of hunger,—for already some time had elapsed since the Dutch had commenced the siege of COCHIN, and since any food had entered the town. The soldier, smitten with compassion, took the infant and gave it of whatever he had to eat, at which the General of the army was so indignant, saying that the soldier should have

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left the infant to die, that he assembled the council of war, and proposed that he should be shot. This was very cruel, and the Council, moderating the sentence, only condemned him to the lash.

The same day ten men of each company were ordered to go to one of the houses of the King of COCHIN, but they found no one there, and the previous year it had been pillaged. The Dutch then slew four kings of the country and 1600 blacks, and there escaped only one old Queen, who was taken alive by a common soldier named VAN REZ, whom the General of the army promoted to be a captain at once, as a reward. They left a company in this house, but the Queen remained there only six days, as she was given into the custody of the ZAMORIN,[1] who is the most powerful of the petty Kings of this coast, to whom the Dutch had promised that if they took the town of COCHIN they would give him that of KRANGANUR,[2] provided he was faithful to them.

The Dutch then began to entrench themselves and to erect batteries, taking shelter under small forts made of palms, one laid upon another together with earth. They made one of them in the direction of the Church of ST. JEAN, which is near the sea, with

[1] Samarin in the original; Zamorin, or King of Calicut, see p. 178. It comes through a local vernacular rendering of *Samundri*, the Sea-king. (See Yule-Burnell, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, p. 745.)

[2] Kranganur, or, more properly, Kodungalúr, occupied by the Portuguese in 1523. They were expelled by the Dutch in 1661-62. The place has a remarkable history. According to tradition it was here that St. Thomas commenced his labours, A.D. 52? The Jews claim to hold grants of land made to them there as early as A.D. 378, and the Syrian Church was firmly established there before the ninth century. The fort is now deserted. (See for further history *Imperial Gazetteer*, Art. "Kodungalur.")

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a battery of four pieces of cannon; and another in the direction of ST. THOMAS, where there was the hospital for the wounded, and close by that for the sick. They also made a battery of seven pieces of cannon and two mortars in a quarter called CALVETTI.[1] Sometimes they threw bombs, sometimes stones, and the stones did by far the most injury to the besieged. This was the spot where the Dutch lost most men, especially at a small river where they tried to make a bridge with sacks full of clay, in order to be able to pass under cover, on account of a point of the bastion which impinged directly upon the river. The "PEPPER HOUSE" is a large store surrounded by the sea, and there was no one then inside it. But when the Portuguese perceived that the enemy entertained the design of assaulting it they placed some men there with two guns; this resulted in the bridge scheme being given up, and resort being had to other measures. Five weeks passed without anything important being accomplished, and the Dutch delivering an assault at night were vigorously repelled, and lost many soldiers through the fault of the Governor of KRANGANUR, who commanded them, and who was drunk when the attack was made.

He was also among the prisoners taken by the Portuguese, and the Dutch General promptly caused the withdrawal in a boat of those soldiers who had survived the assault. Two months later he resolved to make another assault on the same place where the last attack had been made; and in order to have more men he sent a large frigate to fetch those who were in the direction of BELLE ÉPINE. But by

[1] Calivete in the original; Calvetti Bazaar, a quarter of Cochin inhabited by Moplas.

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accident the frigate struck on a bank of sand and foundered, by which he lost many men. Those who knew how to swim landed near COCHIN, not being able to land elsewhere; they were only about ten men, both soldiers and sailors, and the Portuguese made prisoners of them all. The General did not on this account relinquish his desire to deliver an assault, and having disembarked all the sailors, he gave to some short pikes, to others hand grenades, and to some swords, with the intention of making an attack on the following night. But a French lieutenant, named ST. MARTIN, representing that if they made the assault by night they might in the darkness fall into the holes which the besieged might have made in the ramparts, and that by day they would run much less risk, his advice was followed and the General postponed the affair till the following day. As soon as the sun had risen he ranged his troops in battle order, and at about ten o'clock began the assault with four companies, each being of about 150 men. The Dutch lost many men in this last attack, and the Portuguese still more, for they defended themselves bravely, being aided by 200 soldiers of the Dutch army who had joined their side in revenge for having been kept out of six and a half months' pay, in consequence of the loss of TOUAN;[1] this made them unwilling to serve the Dutch army longer. Without these soldiers, who constituted an important aid to the enemy, the town would not have held out for two months; and he who defended it best was a Dutch engineer, who, on account of the bad

[1] Tuban, a town in Java, now included in the Netherlands Province of Rembang. It is described by Mandelslo (*Travels*, Eng. Trans., London 1669).

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treatment which he had received on his own side, was constrained to pass over to that of the enemy.

The Dutch, who had entered COCHIN on the CALVETTI side, and were already masters of a rampart, remained all night under arms; and on the following day the town capitulated, and was given up. The Portuguese came to carry off the bodies of some clerics who were dead; but as for the others, the Dutch had them all dragged to the river by the Chinese who were in their service—both the bodies of the Dutch as well as those of the Portuguese. The wounded were taken to the hospital, and those who had yielded embarked during the night with the engineer, passing without much noise between the ships of the Dutch, replying to those who asked them whence they came that they were commanded by the Dutch, and that they had orders for the ships to maintain a good look-out. This ruse served them well, and though the ships fired some cannon shots after them that did not prevent them from making their escape. The Portuguese, according to the terms of the capitulation, left COCHIN with arms and baggage, but as soon as they were outside the gate of the town, where the Dutch troops were in order of battle, they were obliged to give up their arms and to place them at the feet of the General, with the exception of the officers, who kept their swords.[1] The General had promised the soldiers the *loot* of the town, but not being able to keep his promise for reasons

[1] The capture of Cochin by the Dutch took place in the year 1653. The English factors who resided there retired to Ponáni. The Dutch subsequently improved the place by erecting quays, building houses, etc. The Portuguese cathedral was made into a warehouse, and their churches were used for Protestant worship (*Imperial Gazetteer*, vol. iv, p. 12).

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which he explained to them, he led them to hope that he would pay them six months' wages; this a few days afterwards was reduced to eight rupees each. The ZAMORIN asked for the town of KRANGANUR, in accordance with the promise made to him, and it was given to him; but first the General demolished all the fortifications and left him only the walls, at which the ZAMORIN was much displeased. The majority of those who were well were commanded to go to one of the petty Kings of this coast known as the King of PORAKÁD[1] to treat with him, and it was on this occasion that the Dutch General, who had formerly been, as I have said, a menial servant, showed himself to be of a cruel and barbarous nature. Four days had elapsed, during which the soldiers had been unable to obtain any food for money, and two of them having stolen a cow and slaughtered it, the General, as soon as he knew of it, hung one of them forthwith, and intended to shoot the other, but the King of PORAKÁD saved his life.

The treaty having been concluded with the King of PORAKÁD, the Dutch General held a review of all the survivors both of the sailors and the soldiers, and the number amounted to about 6000 persons, all the rest having died of disease or having been slain. A few days after he commanded some companies to go to lay siege to the town of CANNANORE, which yielded at once without any resistance. When they returned

[1] Porca in the original stands for Porakád or Poracaud, formerly an important port in Travancore. The remains of a Portuguese fort and factory are now covered by the sea, being visible at low water. It is called Porcai by Varthema, who regarded it as an island, and the haunt of pirates in his time—1503-1508. So also Barbosa. (See *Travels of Ludovico de Varthema*, edited by the Rev. Percy Badger, Hakluyt Society, p. 154.)

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the General had a crown made to place on the head of a new King of COCHIN, the other having been driven away; and on the day which he selected for this grand performance he seated himself on a kind of throne, at the foot of which a *Malabari* called MONTANI, conducted by two or three captains, placed himself on his knees to receive the crown from his hand and to take possession of a kingdom of very limited extent—that is to say, some small territories in the neighbourhood of COCHIN. This General when coming from HOLLAND had been ship's cook, and this crowning of a miserable *Malabari* by the hands of a man who had more frequently brandished a pot-ladle than a sword, was without doubt a brilliant spectacle.

In the meantime the ships which had carried to GOA the Portuguese who had surrendered COCHIN, returned laden with spoil. This was contrary to the terms of the capitulation, which provided that they should leave the place with arms and baggage, and be conducted to GOA without anything being taken from them. But as soon as they were at sea the Dutch took all that these poor people had, and having strictly searched both men and women, without any respect for sex, returned laden with booty.

The General of the Dutch troops which came to the siege of COCHIN having returned to BATAVIA, every one withdrew, and there remained only a sufficient number of men for the protection of the town. A Governor was sent from BATAVIA who overworked the soldiers in order to fortify the place, and he cut off the town from the gate of ST. JOHN to the Church of ST. PAUL, as also the whole quarter named CALVETTI, because it was too extensive to be guarded. A short time after the

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siege, food became very cheap in COCHIN, but that did not last long, for the Governor at once placed a duty on tobacco and various comestibles, so that there was only one man who dealt in them, and he fixed the price as he pleased. This Governor exercised great severity towards the soldiers; he kept them shut up in the town, where they were, so to speak, in a prison; and they could drink neither wine nor *suri*[1] nor brandy, because the duties were excessive. This *suri* is a drink obtained from palms. When the Portuguese held COCHIN one could live better on 5 *sols* than under the Dutch with 10 *sols*, because the Portuguese did not burden the town with taxes. This Governor, I say, was so severe that for the least fault he banished a man to the island of CEYLON, to a certain place where bricks were made, sometimes for five or six years, and sometimes for life. But most frequently, when one is sent to this place, although the committal is only for a few years, he never leaves it again. There was in the garrison of COCHIN a soldier of AIX in PROVENCE named RACHEPOT, who, for having failed to reply to his name at roll-call, and for having delayed half a quarter of an hour longer than he should, was sentenced to mount the wooden horse for three days. It is a common punishment for soldiers who are guilty of an offence, and is a very severe one. This horse is so sharp on the back that, with the great weight of the spurs which they place on the feet of the victim, at the end of three or four hours he is altogether torn and mutilated. The poor *Provençal*, knowing that he had been sentenced to this punishment not for three hours

[1] From Sanskrit *sura*, a synonym with *tári*, *i.e.* toddy, palm wine. (See p. 158.)

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but for three days, fearing that he would succumb, instead of giving himself up at the guard-house, concealed himself at the house of a Frenchman, one of his friends, who had been but a short time married. The married soldiers sleep three times a week at their own houses, but the others are obliged to sleep every night at the barracks. The Governor, seeing that the *Provençal* did not appear, ordered a drum to be beaten throughout the town, and proclamation to be made that whoever would disclose the place where he was concealed would receive 100 *piastres* as his reward, and also that whoever kept him concealed without making a declaration would be certainly hung with him. The *Provençal* having received intimation of this threat, not wishing to ruin the Frenchman with whom he lodged, and having found means to entice five or six of his companions, who were not able to stand any more than he the severity of the Dutch General, escaped successfully on the following night, which was dark and rainy. They passed very close to a sentry, by whom they were not seen, the darkness and the rain being very favourable to them, and if he had said a word they were resolved to kill him. Having travelled all the night, they came to a small river near PORAKÁD, but when the tide ascends this river it is wide and deep; this obliged these poor soldiers to throw away their clothes, and to retain only their drawers, in order to swim across quickly, as they feared pursuit. Hunger beginning to oppress them, they realised at their leisure, which they had not done when taking flight, the danger they were in of dying; for not only did they not know the language of the country, but what was more vexatious, they had always to stay in

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the open, as the idolaters who inhabit all this part of INDIA would not allow them even to touch the walls of their houses, through fear of being in consequence obliged to throw them down. The superstition of these idolaters goes so far that they dare not touch one another, except in time of war. When by accident they touch any one they are obliged to go at once and wash the body and dip three times in the water, otherwise they dare not eat, drink, nor enter their houses.[1] The *Provençal* and his companions met a Portuguese Jesuit Father, who asked them whence they came, and they told him all their misfortunes. RACHEPOT was more inconvenienced than all the others, having received a musket-shot in the thigh on the occasion of the last assault on COCHIN, and the wound, which had not fully healed, having reopened on the road, it was impossible for him to travel without being cured of this wound, which had been insufficiently dressed; and the Jesuit Father could give him no other aid than to write a word on his behalf in the *Malabar* language to the King of GODORME,[2] upon a piece of palm leaf,

[1] In my own experience I have met this dread of defilement in its most intense form in Orissa, where, as also in parts of the Madras Presidency, it exists to an extent hardly to be realised by those whose knowledge of the natives does not extend south of the valley of the Ganges. There are, however, few parts of India in which an European would be allowed to take shelter in an ordinary Hindu house. The dwellings of Rajas and wealthy men are sometimes provided with an antechamber to which an European may be invited; and of course there are some, but rare, individual exceptions to the rule which makes travelling in India so different from what it is in Persia.

[2] I venture to suggest that this place, having been probably in Travancore, was Kotáyam, which was a town and State of some note, and the centre of the Syrian Christians. It is in Lat. 9° 36′ N., Long. 76° 34′ E. A very full account of these Christians is given in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. vi, p. 230.

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whom the Dutch had driven from his country before they took COCHIN. RACHEPOT, followed by his companions, went to him by the road which the Jesuit Father had indicated, and he was well received by him, and found there a *Malabari* who understood Portuguese. The King asked RACHEPOT if he would like to remain with him, and he replied that he was content to serve him, and that his companions, of whom he was, as it were, the chief, would serve him also, not wishing to be parted from one another. The King gave orders that the *Provençal's* wound should be carefully dressed, and a preparation of oil and butter was immediately applied, from which he experienced relief. The King made him come to him two or three times every day, sometimes to fire a musket, sometimes to wield a hand-pike, asking him much regarding the way they make war in EUROPE. Sometimes he took pleasure in making him sing, but the unhappy *Provençal* could sing but sadly in consequence of the poor cheer which he received; the King having ordered so little for the support of himself and his companions, that it scarce sufficed to buy rice, and that of the blackest kind. But he was obliged to be patient, both to await the healing of his wound and in order to learn something of the *Malabar* language, without which it would be very difficult for them to traverse the country in order to reach MADRAS. For from COCHIN up to the place where they were, they had experienced much difficulty in making themselves understood by signs, and in their greatest hunger the people of the country offered them nothing to eat but cocoanuts, which were insufficient to satisfy them. On the day of one of the local festivals the King summoned RACHEPOT and his companions,

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and in consequence of the festival presented them with four figs[1] each, which he desired them to eat in his presence. The *Malabaris* told them that the King did them a great honour; but the poor people, who had so little for their subsistence, would have preferred a measure of rice instead of these four figs. The people of that country go about quite naked, only wearing a cloth which covers their private parts. The King himself is in that respect like the least of his subjects, save that he wears a little gold in his ears. RACHEPOT having been completely cured at the end of forty days, resolved to pass on with his companions, and they left one night without saying farewell to any one. They took their road to the south-east for MADRAS,[2] where they wished to go; and it is easy to believe that, being without money and only knowing a few words of the language, they suffered much during their journey. They lived on the charity bestowed upon them, and often when they arrived in the villages some of the idolaters fled from fear, because in these mountains they are not accustomed to see white men; others, who were less timid, came near them and gave them the wherewithal to drink and eat; and those who were most friendly took them into the neighbourhood in order to let their relatives and friends see them. When they had passed these mountains[3] and began to enter the plain, they travelled in the woods for two and

[1] Probably Plantains, or so-called Bananas. The fruit of *Musa sapientum*, commonly called Adam's figs by the Portuguese (see Book II, chap. xii.)

[2] Their position was probably to the south-west of Madras, hence they should have directed their course rather to the north-east. Had they done so they would not have reached so far to the south as they appear to have done (see p. 250).

[3] Probably the hilly region between Travancore and Madura.

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a half days without seeing any one; and were convinced that they must die. To increase their misery they were attacked in these woods by great numbers of leeches which abound there, so that it became a necessity for them to run in order to give the leeches less time to attach themselves to their legs and thighs, where they assumed proportions sometimes larger than the hand. Thus they dared not rest in any place, but when they met a stream they plunged into the water, and removed the leeches which were attached to their bodies, from whence there flowed much blood in all directions; this made them weak and feeble, added to which, as I have said, they found no one to give them food. The leeches of this country are small and slender, and do not take to the water, but live in the grass. These poor people having walked in the woods the first day till two or three hours after nightfall, found a small river which had in the middle a small dry island, where they went to rest till day, not having to fear the leeches then, because they were surrounded by water. On the following day they pursued their journey with the same persecution from leeches, and slept at night close to a tree, where they found a kind of platform,[1] made of wood and elevated about 4 or 5 feet from the ground, which, without doubt, some one had made to protect himself from the attacks of the leeches. This platform served them as camp for this second night, and, day having come, they were again on the road, and at length arrived by midday at a Pagoda,[2] where there were

[1] Known in India as a *machán*, Hin.

[2] Possibly Trichinopoli, but more probably Madura, or some place still farther south (see p. 250).

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many *Brahmins* or *Banian* priests, who, pitying their miserable condition, and having learnt from them that they had found nothing to eat for three days, gave them rice, fruit, and vegetables dressed with butter. But they gave it all from a distance, making a sign to them not to approach, as we do in EUROPE with the plague-stricken, to whom one throws charity on a handkerchief spread on the road, from which they stand aloof. As the soldiers had been nearly three days without eating they forthwith took so much food that they all had fever on the following day, so that to cure themselves they had to fast afterwards, dieting being in INDIA the sovereign remedy for all kinds of ills. After they had eaten they wished to pursue their way, but the *Brahmins* made them understand that the forest extended very far, and that the leeches would take their lives if they did not find some place to protect themselves from these insects,[1] and advised them to remain there the whole night, and that the following day they should start early. This they did, according to their advice. This night heavy rain fell, and one of the *Banian* priests made a sign to them to follow him to his house. Having arrived there he made them enter a hole under the house, which he besought them not to touch; and though he brought them food, they were unwilling to eat it for fear of increasing the fever with which they were attacked. When it was quite dark these poor people came out of the hole, and went out upon the terrace of the house in order to sleep more at their ease. To avoid being caught there they did not fail to return to the hole at break of

[1] This was written long before naturalists had separated leeches from insects, and placed them in the class of the annelids.

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day, and the *Brahmin*, master of the house, took them again to the Pagoda, where he ordered them to be given food. He also made them rub their legs with a certain plant[1] the odour of which the leeches could not bear, and gave to each a cloth which contained a kind of chalk of the size of an egg, telling them that when the leeches attached themselves to their legs they need only touch them with this cloth, and that they would fall immediately. It has been proved that salt and fire have the same effect, and the natives of the country, when passing through the places where they know there are leeches, always have a lighted brand in their hands. The soldiers, with the preventative which was thus given to them, travelled with more comfort, and were not tormented by leeches as before. They reached open country at 4 P.M., and passed close to a fortress which belonged to the *Banians*, who gave them vegetables to eat and whey to drink, —for no water is drunk in this country, as it is very unwholesome. The *Banians* directed them, as well as they could, on the road to MADRAS, which they had left in consequence of their having kept too much towards the south. By going more to the east they shortened their journey, and traversed a mountainous country,

[1] What this plant was I have not been able to discover—not improbably it is still used for the same purpose. Friar Odoric in 1320 says the gem finders in Ceylon used lemon juice (*Hakluyt Voyages*, vol. ii, p. 58). Sir Joseph Hooker, who says he repeatedly took a hundred leeches at a time from his legs, and that they even found their way to his eyelids, adds: "Snuff and tobacco leaves are the best antidote, but when marching in the rain it is impossible to apply this simple remedy. The best plan I found to be rolling the leaves over the feet, inside the stockings, and powdering the legs with snuff" (*Himalayan Journal*, vol. ii, p. 42). Sir Emerson Tennant says the natives of Ceylon smear their bodies with oil, tobacco ashes, and lemon juice, to keep off the leeches (*Natural History of Ceylon*, p. 481).

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inhabited by Christians of ST. JOHN,[1] of the religion of which I have spoken in my account of PERSIA when describing BASSORA.[2] In the year 1643 these Christians, both those of these mountains and those of BASSORA, sent ambassadors to the Viceroy of GOA to obtain permission from him to go to dwell in the island of CEYLON. They undertook to drive out the inhabitants of the country. But the Viceroy not promising to grant what they asked except on condition that they became Catholics, and they being unwilling to agree, the arrangement which they proposed did not come to pass. A Jesuit Father was sent from GOA to these Christians to work for their conversion, but as he made no progress he preferred to devote his cares to the idolaters, whose language he acquired so perfectly that he spoke it as if he had been born in the country. From time to time he converted some of them, whom he sent to GOA. This he was never able to accomplish with the Christians of ST. JOHN, who are thoroughly fixed in their views; and, having passed nearly forty years with the idolaters, who were unwilling that any one should touch either their persons or their houses, it is easy to conclude that he had suffered much during that time, and that no kind of life could be more austere than his. For he had to live like the idolaters, who eat nothing which has had life; and as he travelled from one place to another the food of these countries was insufficient to give him the strength necessary for the fatigues which he had to undergo.

[1] Syrian Church—probably colonies from the central headquarters in Malabar (see p. 245 *n.*)

[2] *Persian Travels*, Book II, chap. viii, p. 222.

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RACHEPOT and his companions had the good fortune to meet, on their road one evening, this Jesuit Father, who for his part was much pleased to see them, and having asked them whence they came, they told him all that had happened at the siege of COCHIN, the cruel treatment which they had received from the Dutch, and the misadventures of their journey. The Father advised them to go back to GOA, where they might find opportunities to return to EUROPE by taking service on Portuguese vessels; but seeing that they had resolved to go to MADRAS, he wrote down the route, not being able to indicate their stages beyond GINGI,[1] a small town inhabited by Muhammadans, except by the miserable hamlets which exist on this route.

On the following day, at their departure, he exhorted them to be of good courage, and gave them 24 measures of rice, which was sufficient for five or six days. Having arrived at GINGI, which is but two or three stages from the place where they left the Jesuit Father, they met four Portuguese who had escaped from COCHIN, when they were about to make the capitulation, and to hand over the town to the Dutch. These four unfortunates, who had become renegades, invited the newcomers to join the Muhammadans of GINGI, who asked them if they would serve them, offering them each three *pagodas* a month. In the extremity of their misery necessity would have compelled them to

[1] Guinchy in the original, Gingi, Jinjee, or Chenjee, a ruined hill-fort and village 50 miles south of Arcot. It was taken by Sivaji in 1677, from the Muhammadan Governor appointed from Bijapur. It was for a time garrisoned by the French, 1750 to 1761. The place is now deserted, and has the reputation of being one of the most unhealthy in the Karnatic.

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accept this offer, if they had not spoken at the same time of their being circumcised, and denying their faith; and from fear that they would be kept against their wills, they left quietly, and followed their journey bravely to MADRAS, which is ten days' march from GINGI.[1] They still suffered much during so long a journey, living on the charity bestowed upon them, and not being able to communicate save by signs. They were received hospitably at MADRAS by the Rev. Fathers EPHRAIM and ZENON, French Capuchins, and as their bodies were all black and burnt by the sun, after five or six days of rest all the skin peeled off them, from which they suffered much.

The English had the kindness to offer them a passage upon one of their vessels which was returning to EUROPE, but RACHEPOT allowed his companions to go, and decided to return by land himself, after having rested nearly two months at MADRAS. During this time the Capuchin Fathers found a means to enable him to earn more than 100 *écus*, and three suits of clothes with the necessary linen, by the sale of little rings of horse-hair, which he knew how to make very skilfully. He worked devices and letters on them, and these rings were much approved of by the *Mestive*[2] Portuguese, who never see anything of great value, so that some of them gave a gold ducat for each ring.

RACHEPOT having saved money, as I have said, went by land from MADRAS to SURAT, from SURAT to AGRA, and from AGRA to DELHI, where I arrived some time after on my last voyage to INDIA. As I saw he was in want, I took him into my service, and I lent

[1] The distance from Gingi to Madras is 82 miles.

[2] See pp. 198 and 206.

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him, too, some money on my departure, which has never been repaid to me. It is from him that I learnt all the details of the voyage which I have recounted, but I have also known fifteen or twenty other persons who have taken the same route when going from GOA to COCHIN, and from COCHIN to MADRAS.

It is fairly short, and there is no lack of food and good water, but it has otherwise, as I have said, many inconveniences, which are, that it is very little frequented; the almost inevitable persecution by the leeches is one of the principal, and the superstition of the *Banians*, not allowing any one to touch their persons nor their houses, is one of the most troublesome, and even if one takes water from their tanks they destroy them immediately, and do not use them any more; this is the reason why some of the priests always guard them.

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CHAPTER XVII

Route by Sea from HORMUZ *to* MASULIPATAM

I LEFT GOMBROON for MASULIPATAM on the 11th of May 1652, having embarked on a large vessel belonging to the King of GOLCONDA, which every year goes to PERSIA laden with muslins and *chites* or coloured calicoes, the flowered decoration of which is all done by hand,—which makes them more beautiful and more expensive than when it is printed. The Dutch Company is in the habit of supplying a pilot and a sub-pilot and two or three gunners to the vessels which belong to the Kings or Princes of INDIA, neither the Indians nor the Persians having the least knowledge of navigation.[1] Upon the vessel upon which I embarked there were six Dutch, and about one hundred sailors of the country. We left the PERSIAN GULF with a soft and favourable wind; but we made but little way before meeting a rough sea and south-west winds so violent, though good for our course, that it was impossible to carry more than a small sail. On the day

[1] The Chinese, who were better navigators, not only visited India in early times, but continued to visit Hormuz up to the middle of the fifteenth century. Ships of Tchin, Matchin (South China), and Khanbalik (Pekin) are specifically referred to by Abd-er-Razzak (*vide Hakluyt Society*, vol. i, p. 6).

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after, and those which followed it, the wind became more furious, and the sea more disturbed, so that, when we arrived at the 16th degree, which is the latitude of GOA,[1] the rain, thunder, and lightning increased the hurricane, and we were unable to carry any sail except the *simiane*,[2] and that half furled, and thus we drove before the tempest for many days. We passed the MALDIVE islands without being able to see them, and our vessel made much water. For it had remained nearly five months in the roads at GOMBROON during the hot season, for if care is not then taken to wet the timbers which are exposed above water they open; this is the reason why vessels make so much water when laden. The Dutch do not fail to throw water all over theirs both morning and evening in order to preserve them, because without this precaution one runs the risk of being lost in a tempest. We had in our vessel fifty-five horses which the King of PERSIA was sending as a present to the King of GOLCONDA, and about 100 merchants, both Persians and Armenians, who were going to INDIA for trade. During the whole of a day and night a cross wind blew with such violence that our vessel took in water on all sides, and the worst was that our pumps were no good. It fortunately happened that there was a merchant on board who was taking to INDIA two bales of cow-hides, which we call Russian leather; these skins are much valued, because they are cool, for covering small beds on which one throws oneself during the day to sleep for an hour or two. There

[1] The latitude of Goa is 15° 30′ N.

[2] *Simiane.* This word may be connected with the Persian *shâmiyaná*, which, however, signifies an awning, or a kind of tent without walls.

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were also on board four or five shoemakers or saddlers, who understood how to stitch these skins, and they did a good service to all in the vessel, and likewise to themselves, for we were in danger. They made great buckets, each consisting of four skins, and five large holes were cut in diverse parts of the lower deck, where some of the ship's company filled the skins, which were then hauled up through the holes. These skins held about a pipe of water each, and, in order to hoist them, a thick cable was extended from the mainmast to the foremast, to which as many pulleys were attached as there were buckets. To each bucket a sufficient number of passengers were allotted to hoist it, and so in less than an hour or an hour and a half we baled all the water out of the vessel. On this same day while the storm was so severe a strange thing occurred. Three thunderbolts struck our vessel. The first fell on the foremast, which it split from top to bottom, then leaving the mast at the level of the deck, it ran along the length of the vessel, killing three men in its course. The second fell two hours later, and, running from stem to stern, killed two more men on the deck. The third followed soon after, the pilot, sub-pilot, and I being together near the mainmast; and the cook coming to ask the pilot if he wished him to serve the supper, the thunderbolt made a small hole in the cook's stomach, and burnt off all his hair, as one scalds a pig, without doing him any other injury. But it is true that when this small hole was anointed with cocoanut oil he cried aloud and experienced acute agony.

On the 24th of June we perceived land in the morning, and when sufficiently near we recognised that

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we were off POINT DE GALLE,[1] the principal town of the island of CEYLON, which the Dutch took from the Portuguese. From this up to MASULIPATAM roads we had fairly good weather, and we arrived there on the 2d of July, one or two hours after sunrise. Our pilot at once went on shore to salute the Dutch Commander, and having told him that I was in the vessel, with M. LOUIS DU JARDIN,[2] of whom I have spoken in my Persian narrative, he sent two horses to the landing-place, in order that we should visit him, for from thence to the house of the Dutch it is a good half-league's distance. The Commander and the Dutch merchants received us with much civility, and having prepared two rooms for us, strongly pressed us to remain with them, which we accepted for this first night only. The following day we went to lodge with M. HERCULES, a Swede by nationality, who was in the service of the Dutch Company, and who, being married, had a house of his own in the town. In order to be free we lived *en pension* with him, and the Dutch Commander asked us often to go to dinner at his house, where he very much pressed us to stay. We went two or three times to amuse ourselves with him in a beautiful garden which the Dutch have at half a league from the town, and three of them being married, their wives generally took part in our amusements. We regaled them in our turn with many kinds of excellent fruits and good wine which we had brought from PERSIA; and M. DU JARDIN, who danced well and played the lute, strove on his own account to give them some amusement.

[1] Ponte de Galle in the original. On another occasion Tavernier landed there (see Book II, chap. xx.)

[2] See Book II, chaps. xx and xxv.

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The English also were present at our small parties. And they entertained us two or three times as pleasantly as they could, having *baladines*,[1] of whom there is no lack in this country, always present after the repast.

On the 18th and 19th of June[2] we bought a *pallankeen*, three horses, and six oxen, to carry us with our attendants and our baggage. We had settled to go straight to GOLCONDA to the King, to sell him some of the pear-shaped pearls, of which the least weighed 34,[3] and the largest 35 carats; and some other jewels, the majority of which were emeralds. But the Dutch having told us that we should make a useless journey, and that the King would buy nothing rare nor of high price which MIR JUMLA, who commanded his army and was the Prime Minister of his Court, had not first seen, and as he was then at the siege of GANDIKOT,[4] in the Province of CARNATIC,[5] we resolved to go in search of him, and the following is the route which we took in this journey.

[1] Dancing-girls (see p. 87 *n.*)

[2] As they arrived at Masulipatam on the 2d of July, it is clear that the month should be July both in this passage and also in the next chapter.

[3] Probably a misprint for 24 (see p. 287).

[4] Gandicot in the original, for Gandikot (see p. 284).

[5] Carnatica in the original, for Carnatic or Karnatik. Its geographical limits have varied, at one time it corresponded with the Kingdom of Vijayanagra, including Mysore and part of Telingana, it is now restricted to a region below the *Ghats*. (See *Anglo-Indian Glossary* and *Imperial Gazetteer*.)

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CHAPTER XVIII

Route from MASULIPATAM *to* GANDIKOT, *a town and fortress in the Province of* CARNATIC; *and the Author's transactions with* MIR JUMLA, *who commanded the Army of the King of* GOLCONDA; *in which also there is a full description of Elephants.*

WE left MASULIPATAM on the 20th of June[1] at 5 P.M., and slept at a garden—which is, as I have said, only half a league from the town, and belongs to the Dutch, the chief of whom accompanied us, and we amused ourselves pretty well during a good part of the night.

The following day being the 21st, after having taken leave of the Dutch we travelled 3 leagues, and slept at a place called NILMOL.[2]

On the 22d [July] we travelled 6 leagues to WOUHIR,[3] another village, and before arriving there we crossed a river[4] on a raft.

On the 23d [July], after a march of six hours, we halted at PATEMET,[5] which is but a poor village, and on account of the rains we were obliged to remain there on the 24th, 25th, and 26th.

[1] This should be July (see preceding note). On p. 265 the succeeding month is given as August, the year being 1652.

[2] Nedumulu (see p. 174 *n.*)

[3] Weeyur (see p. 174 *n.*)

[4] One of the mouths of the Kistná.

[5] Patamata (see p. 175 *n.*)

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On the 27th [July] we arrived at a large village called BEZWÁDA,[1] not having been able to accomplish this day more than a league and a half, on account of the quantity of water which flooded all the roads. We were obliged to halt till the 31st, as the rains had so much flooded the river that the boat could not hold its own against the swift current of the water, and they had not the intelligence to stretch ropes across the river. Besides which it required some time to enable the horses which the King of PERSIA was sending to the King of GOLCONDA to cross over; they were then reduced to fifty, because five had died at sea.[2]

They were being taken to MIR JUMLA, who was the *Nawab* or *Grand Vizir*, because anything that he has not seen, or which has not been approved by him, is not shown to the King, who buys nothing and receives no present except with the advice of his Prime Minister, who consequently must have the first view; and this, as I have said, was the reason which compelled us to go to the *Nawab* at GANDIKOT.[3]

During the sojourn which we made at BEZWÁDA[4] we went to see many pagodas, the country being full of them, and there are more there than in any other

[1] Bezouart in the original (see p. 174 *n.*)

[2] I have been told by a Calcutta horsedealer that the intelligent Arab horses adapt themselves much better to the sea-passage to India than do the rough and often unbroken Australian horses, which sometimes arrive in a very wretched condition, while in rough weather many are lost owing to injuries inflicted on one another in their excitement.

[3] The preceding paragraph is omitted in John Phillip's translation of 1684.

[4] Bezwáda is noted for its antiquities, both of the Buddhistic and Hindu periods, the former consisting of rock-cut temples, and the latter of pagodas. By some authorities it is identified with Dhanákaketa of Hwen Thsang, which others place at Amarávati; see p. 174 *n.* (See *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Art. "Bezwáda.")

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part of INDIA, because, with the exception of the Governors of the place and some of their servants, who are Muhammadans, all the people are idolaters. The pagoda of the town of BEZWÁDA is very fine, and is not enclosed by walls. You see fifty-two columns of 20 feet in height or thereabouts, which support a flat floor of large cut stones. They are ornamented by many figures in relief, which represent fearful demons and numerous animals—some of them being figures of demons having four horns, others with many legs and many tails, others which protrude their tongues, and others in more ridiculous attitudes. There are similar figures carved in the stones of the floor, and in the intervals between each pair of columns the statues of the gods are elevated on pedestals. The pagoda is in the middle of a large court, longer than it is wide, and the court is surrounded by walls which are enriched, inside and out, with the same figures as the pagoda. A gallery supported by sixty-six pillars, like a sort of cloister, runs all round the wall inside. You enter this court by a great gate, above which there are two large niches, one over the other, the first of which is supported by twelve pillars, and the second by eight. At the base of the columns of the pagoda there are old Indian inscriptions, which the priests of these idolaters have much difficulty in deciphering.

We went to see another pagoda, built on an elevation, and it is ascended by a staircase with 193 steps, each being 1 foot high. The pagoda is square, with a dome on top; there are figures in relief around the wall like those in the BEZWÁDA pagoda. There is an idol seated in the middle, after the manner of the country, with crossed legs, and in this position it is

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about 4 feet in height. Its head is covered by a triple crown, from whence proceed four horns, and it has the face of a man turned towards the east. The pilgrims who come for devotion to these pagodas, when entering, join their hands together and carry them to their foreheads, then they approach the idol waving them and repeating many times (the words) *Ram, Ram, i.e.* God, God. When they are close they sound a bell thrice, which is suspended from the idol itself, of which they have previously smeared different parts of the face and body with various colours. Some carry bottles of oil, with which they anoint the idol, and they offer it sugar, oil, and other articles of food—the richest adding money. There are sixty priests who attend this pagoda, and live with their wives and children on the offerings which are brought to the idol. But in order that the pilgrims may believe that the god takes them, the priests leave them before the image for two days, and on the evening of the third they appropriate them. When a pilgrim goes to the pagoda in order to be cured of some malady, he takes, according to his means, a representation in gold, silver, or copper, of the diseased member, which he presents to his god; he then begins to sing, this all the others do also after their offerings. Before the door of the pagoda there is a flat roof supported by sixteen pillars, and opposite is to be seen another supported by four, where food is cooked for the priests of the pagoda. Towards the south a great platform has been cut in the mountain, where there is shade afforded by numerous beautiful trees, and you see also a very fine well. The pilgrims come there from great distances, and if there are any poor among them the

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priests feed them with the alms which they receive from the rich who come there out of devotion. The principal festival of this pagoda is in the month of October, at which time there is a great assemblage of people from all quarters. When we were there there was a woman who had been three days in the temple without once leaving it, asking the idol from time to time, since she had lost her husband, what she should do to bring up her children and feed them. Having inquired from one of the priests wherefore this woman had received no reply, and if she would receive one, he said that it was necessary that she should await the will of their god, and that he would then answer what she asked. I immediately suspected some deception, and, in order to discover what it was, resolved to enter the pagoda, especially as all the priests were absent, having gone to dinner, there being but one only at the door, of whom I freed myself by asking him to go to fetch me some water at a fountain, which was two or three musket shots away from the place. During this time I entered the temple, when the woman, on catching a glimpse of me, redoubled her cries, for, as no light entered the pagoda except by the door, it was very dark. I entered, feeling my way in order to ascertain what took place behind the statue, where I found there was a hole through which a man could enter, and where, without doubt, the priest concealed himself and made the idol speak by his mouth. I was not able to accomplish this so quickly but that the priest whom I had begged to go to obtain water for me returned and found me still in the pagoda. He cursed me because I had profaned, as he said, his temple, but we soon became friends by means of two rupees which

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I placed in his hands, and he at the same time offered me *betel*.[1]

On the 31st we left BEZWÁDA and crossed the river,[2] which goes to the mine of GANI or KOLLUR.[3] It was then nearly half a league in width, on account of the heavy rains which had lasted during eight or nine days. After having travelled 3 leagues on the other side of the river, we found a great pagoda built on a platform to which one ascended by fifteen or twenty steps. There was an image there of a cow[4] in black marble, and numerous idols of 4 or 5 feet in height, which were all deformed, one having many heads, another many arms and many legs, another many horns, and the most hideous are the most adored and receive most offerings. At a quarter of a league from this pagoda there is a large village. On this day we marched 3 leagues farther, and slept at another village called KAH KALI,[5] near which there is a small pagoda where there are five or six idols of marble fairly well made.

The first day of August, after a march of seven hours, we arrived at CONDEVIR,[6] a large town with a double ditch, and the bottom of the trench lined with

[1] *Betle* in the original.—The leaf of *Chavica betel*, together with chopped areca nut and lime, constitutes what is here called *betle*, for chewing. (See p. 286.)

[2] *I.e.* the Kistná.

[3] See for explanation of Gani or Kollur, p. 172, also Book II, chap. xviii.

[4] Siva's bull.

[5] This is Kákáni, about 4 miles north of Guntur, and 16 from Bezwáda. It is also mentioned on p. 174, being on the route from Golconda to Masulipatam *via* the mine at Coulour (*i.e.* Kollur).

[6] This is Konavaidu or Kondavir. The fort, which is at an elevation of 1050 feet on a ridge of hills, is described by Mr. Boswell in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. i. p. 182. The town was built in the twelfth century by the Orissa Rajas.

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cut stone. It is entered by a road which is enclosed on both sides by strong walls, where at intervals there are round towers which afford but small defence. This town touches on the east a mountain which is about a league in circuit, and is surrounded above by high walls. At every 150 paces there is, as it were, a half moon; and within, in the walled enclosure, there are three fortresses, which they have neglected to keep in repair.

On the 2d [August] we travelled only 6 leagues, and halted at a village called COPENOUR.[1]

On the 3d [August], after having made 8 leagues, we reached ADANQUIGE,[2] a fairly good village, where there is a very grand pagoda, with numerous chambers which were made for the priests of the *Banians*, but to-day it is all in ruins. There are still some idols in the pagoda, but all mutilated, and these poor people do not cease to adore them.

On the 4th [August] we made 8 leagues, and slept at the village of NOSDREPAR.[3] Half a league on this side there is a large river, which then contained but little water—the rains not having commenced.

On the 5th [August], after 8 leagues of road, we slept at the village of CONDECOUR.[4]

[1] Not identified.

[2] This is Addanki (Ardinghy), a town in the Ongole *taluk* of the Nellore district, Lat. 15° 48′ 42″, Long. 80° 0′ 52″ E. "The temple of Singarikonda and the ruined fort of Hari Palakuda are in the neighbourhood" (*Imperial Gazetteer*).

[3] Probably Nootalapaud, about 18 miles south of Addanki. The French edition of 1713 has Nodrespar.

[4] Kandukur—Cundacoor of A.S.—in the Nellore district. The French edition of 1713 has Gondecour.

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On the 6th [August] we marched seven hours and halted at another village called DAKIJÉ.[1]

On the 7th [August], after having travelled 3 leagues, we came to a town called NELOUR,[2] where there are many pagodas, and having crossed a great river a quarter of a league farther on, we marched for 6 leagues and came to a village called GANDARON.[3]

On the 8th [August], after a march of eight hours, we slept at SEREPELÉ,[4] which is only a small village.

On the 9th [August] we travelled 9 leagues, and slept at a good village called PONTER.[5]

On the 10th [August] we marched eleven hours and halted at SENEPGOND,[6] another good village.

On the 11th [August] we only went as far as PALICATE,[7] which is but 4 leagues from SENEPGOND, and of these 4 leagues we marched more than one in the sea, our horses in many places having the water nearly to the saddle. There is also another road, but it is longer by 2 or 3 leagues. PULICAT is a fort belonging to the Dutch, who occupy the whole length of the coast of

[1] Not identified on A.S.

[2] Nellore. There is a temple on a hill near the town called Narasinha Kondu. Nellore is on the south bank of the Penner or Pennair River, which, therefore, must have been crossed before the town was reached.

[3] Not identified, probably misplaced.

[4] Sarvapali probably, but if so the distance and time mentioned must be incorrect, as it is only 12 miles south of Nellore.

[5] Pundi—Poondy of A.S.—to W. of Pulicat Lake.

[6] I have failed to identify Senepgond.

[7] Pulicat, in the Chingleput District of Madras. The town is on an island which separates the sea from a considerable lagoon or salt lake. It was the site of the first Dutch settlement on the mainland of India. In 1609 the fort referred to by Tavernier was built. The town was subsequently transferred to the English and back to the Dutch several times in succession. Orme gives a plan of this as well as of many of the other forts and towns mentioned by Tavernier.

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COROMANDEL; and it is where they have their factory, and where the Chief of all those living in the territory of the King of GOLCONDA resides. There are generally about 200 soldiers in garrison in this fort, besides many merchants who reside there for trade, and other persons who, after having served the Company for their full term, are in retirement in this place. There are also some natives of the country, who by degrees have congregated here, so that PULICAT is to-day like a small town. Between the town and the fort a large open space is left, so that the fort is not inconvenienced by the town. The bastions are furnished with good guns, and the sea washes at the foot, but there is no port, it being only a roadstead. We remained in the town till the evening of the following day, and the Governor would not allow us to eat elsewhere but at his table. He was the *Sieur* PITE,[1] a German of the town of BREMEN. We received all kinds of attention from him, and he took us three times round the fort on the walls, where one could easily walk. The manner in which the inhabitants procure the water which they drink is somewhat remarkable. When the tide is out they go on the sand as near to the sea as possible, and they make holes there, where they find sweet water, which is excellent.[2]

On the 12th [August] at sunset we left PULICAT, and on the following day, at 10 o'clock A.M., we arrived at MADRAS, otherwise called FORT ST. GEORGE, which belongs to the English, and of which I have elsewhere

[1] The French edition of 1713 has Pitre.

[2] This method of obtaining fresh water is still followed in certain parts of the coast of India, and in the Persian Gulf by diving down to a considerable depth and then filling corked bottles. (See Book II, chap. xx, and *Chardin*, iv, p. 69; and *Persian Travels*, Ed. 1676, p. 233.)

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spoken[1]—having travelled only 7 or 8 leagues this day. We went to stay at the Convent of the Capuchins, where the Rev. Father EPHRAIM of NEVERS and the Rev. Father ZENON of BANGÉ were, of whom I have also spoken in preceding chapters.[2]

On the 14th [August] we went to the fort to visit the English President, and we dined with him.

On the 15th [August] M. DU JARDIN[3] and I left in the morning to go to ST. THOMÉ,[4] which, as I have said, is only a good half league from MADRAS. We first went to see the Governor, who received us with much civility and kept us to dinner. The time after dinner was employed in going to see the Church of the Augustine Fathers and that of the Jesuit Fathers, in the first of which there is the head of a lance, which they regard as being that with which ST. THOMAS[5] was martyred; and we also went to visit some Portuguese, who received us very well. In the cool of the evening we returned to MADRAS.

On the 16th [August] the Governor of ST. THOMÉ and the Portuguese whom we had been to see sent us a quantity of presents, such as hams, ox tongues, sausages, fish, water melons, and other fruits of the country. There were nine or ten men to carry these presents, and as we lodged with the Capuchins it was always believed that M. DU JARDIN was a bishop, and that,

[1] Madras, see p. 220, 22 miles from Pulicat. As will have been observed, several of the stages from Masulipatam have not been identified.

[2] See Book I, chap. xv.

[3] See Book II, chaps. xx and xxv.

[4] St. Thomé, now a suburb of Madras (see p. 221 *n*, where the distance has been shown to be about a league and a half).

[5] For a full discussion of this tradition, see *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. vi, p. 230, *et seq.*

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not wishing to make himself known, he had come to see the country in disguise. What confirmed them in this belief was that they knew that the Governor of PULICAT had treated us with great civility, and that he of MADRAS had done no less. Moreover, six months after our departure, it was impossible for any one to remove this belief, so strongly was it engrafted.

On the 17th and 18th [August] we went again to dine with the English President, and we passed the time with all the amusements which he was able to devise to remove from our bodies and minds the pains and fatigues which we had incurred during so troublesome a journey.

On the 19th [August] we went to visit some native Christians who dwell at MADRAS and live in tolerable comfort. They received us very well, and we heard that they are very generous to the Reverend Capuchin Fathers.

On the 20th [August] the Christians whom we went to see also sent presents of some fruits of the country.

On the 21st [August] we went to take leave of the English President and the chiefs of the nation, who had regaled us so well.

On the 22d [August], in the morning, we left MADRAS, and, after having travelled 6 leagues, arrived at a large village called SERRAVARON.[1]

On the 23d [August], having travelled 7 leagues, we came to OUDECOT.[2] This is a day's march through a

[1] This appears to be Seravarumbode, near Arnee, 20 miles from Madras.

[2] Woodecotah, north of the Narnaveram river, about 15 miles from the last stage.

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flat and somewhat sandy country. On both sides there is nothing but groves of bamboo.[1] It is a kind of cane which is very tall, sometimes equalling in height our loftiest forest trees. There are some of these forests so thick that it is impossible for a man to enter them, and there are an enormous number of monkeys in them. Those on one side of the road are so hostile to those on the other, that none can venture to pass from one side to the other without running the risk of being at once strangled. While at PULICAT, the Governor told us that when we passed through these woods we should enjoy the opportunity, as he had done, of making the monkeys fight,[2] and this is the way which is employed to bring it about. Throughout all this country at every league the road is closed by gates and barricades, where a strict watch is kept, and all passers by are questioned as to whence they come and whither they go, so that a traveller is able without danger and in all safety to carry his gold in his hand. In all these places you find rice to buy, and those who wish to enjoy the amusement of making the monkeys fight, place five or six baskets of rice in the road at forty or fifty paces distant the one from the other, and close to each five or six sticks, two feet long and an inch thick. The baskets being thus placed and uncovered, every one withdraws a short distance, and immediately the monkeys are to be seen on both sides descending from the bamboos and leaving the woods to approach the baskets which are full of rice. They spend half an hour showing their teeth to one another before

[1] Bambou in the original. See Index for references.

[2] A remarkable account of a battle between two troops of monkeys, which was witnessed by Mr. T. W. H. Hughes, F.G.S., will be found in the *Proc. As. Society*, Bengal, for September 1884, p. 147.

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approaching the baskets, and sometimes they advance, sometimes they retire, all fearing to come to close quarters. At length the females, which are bolder than the males, particularly those having young ones, which they carry in their arms as a woman carries her child, approach the baskets, and when about to stretch forward their heads to eat, immediately the males of the other side of the wood advance to prevent them and to bite them. Those of the other side advance then, and both the one and the other becoming furious take the sticks which they find near the baskets, upon which a fierce combat ensues. The weakest being compelled to give way, withdraw into the wood, some with broken heads, others maimed in some member, while those who remain masters of the field eat their fill of rice. It is true, however, that when they begin to be replete they allow some of the females of the opposition to come to eat with them.

On the 24th [August], after having accomplished 9 leagues by a road similar to that of the preceding day, we arrived at NARAVERON.[1]

On the 25th [August], after a march of eight hours in a country of the same kind, finding gates at every two leagues, we arrived in the evening at GAZEL.[2]

On the 26th [August] we travelled 9 leagues, and halted at COURUA,[3] and found nothing, neither for

[1] Narnaverum on the river of the same name. The stages from Madras above given amount to 22 leagues; the distance measured on the map is about 56 miles; but the first stage is too short.

[2] Gazellymundum, 14 miles as the crow flies from Narnaverum.

[3] The pagoda was undoubtedly that of Tripatty or Tirupati, 80 miles from Madras. In Book III, chap. xii, which see, Tavernier mentions that he visited it on this very journey. It is possible that a place called Ontimon Koorva, about 12 miles N.W. of Tripatty, may be our author's Courua.

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the men nor the mounts, whether oxen or horses, and ours had to content themselves with a little grass which was cut for them. COURUA is a somewhat renowned pagoda, and having arrived there we saw several companies of military passing, some with handpikes, others with guns, and others with sticks, who were going to join one of the principal captains of MIR JUMLA'S army, on a hill near COURUA, where he had pitched his tent. The place is very pleasant, and derives its coolness from numerous trees and fountains. As soon as we learnt that this captain was so near at hand, we set out in order to go to salute him, and we found him in his tent with many nobles who were chiefs of the country, all being idolaters. After we had saluted him and made a present of a pair of pocket pistols decorated with silver, and two yards of Dutch flame-coloured cloth, he asked why we had come into the country, and we replied that we came to see MIR JUMLA, Commander-in-Chief of the King of GOLCONDA, on account of some business which we had with him. At this reply he treated us kindly, and having observed that he regarded us as Dutchmen, we said we were not of their country, but were Frenchmen. The captain not having any previous knowledge of our nation, detained us a long time in order to acquaint himself with our forms of government, and the greatness of our King. While he kept us in this way the *sufra*[1] was spread, and then all the idolatrous nobles withdrew, as they do not eat anything cooked by Muhammadans. Having ascertained that we had not the same scruples, he invited us to supper, but we declined, because it was late, and we wished to rejoin our people. But we had

[1] *Sofra* in the original = tablecloth (see Book II, chap. xii).

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scarcely arrived at our tent when we saw three men, each with a large dish of *pillâu*[1] on his head, which the captain had sent us. Before we left him he begged us to remain for the following day to enjoy elephant-hunting, but as we did not wish to lose time we excused ourselves, and told him that our business compelled us to proceed. Six or seven days previously they had captured five elephants, three of which had escaped, and it was these which they were pursuing, and ten or twelve of the poor peasants who assisted in capturing them had been killed. We informed ourselves of the manner in which they hunt, and this is what we then ascertained. Certain passages are cut in the woods, which are hollowed out into holes, and covered with branches with a little earth on top. The hunters, by means of shouts and the noise of drums, to which they add fire-darts, drive the elephant into these passages, when meeting with the holes it falls into them and is unable to get out again. They then place ropes and chains on it, which they pass under the belly, and bind the trunk and the legs, afterwards they employ special machines to hoist it up. Nevertheless, out of five which they had taken three escaped, as I have said, although they had still some chains and cords about their bodies, and even on their legs. These people told us an astonishing thing, which is wonderful if one could only believe it. It is, that elephants which have once been caught and have escaped, if driven into the woods are always on their guard, and tear off a large branch of a tree with their trunks, with which they go along sounding everywhere before putting down their feet, to see if there are any

[1] *Pillâu* (see p. 154).

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holes, so as not to be caught a second time. It was this which made the hunters, who gave us this description, despair of being able to recapture the three elephants which had escaped from them. If we had been certain of being witnesses of this wonderful precaution of the elephant, no matter how pressing our business, we should have willingly waited for two or three days. This captain who had received us so well was a sort of Brigadier, and commanded 3000 or 4000 men who were stationed half a league off.

On the 27th [August], after having marched two hours, we came to a large village, where we saw the two elephants which had been captured. Each of these wild elephants was between two tame ones, and around the wild ones there were six men with fire-darts, who spoke to the animals when feeding them, saying in their language, "Take that and eat it." They were small wisps of hay, pieces of black sugar, of rice cooked in water, and pounded peppercorns. When the wild elephant would not do what was ordered, the men told the tame elephants to beat him; this they immediately did, one striking him on the forehead and head with his trunk, and if he made as though to revenge himself, the other struck him from his side, so that the poor elephant knew not where to turn; this educated him to obey.

As I have insensibly drifted into a history of elephants, I shall add here some other remarks which I have made on the nature of these animals. Although the elephant does not approach the female after having been captured,[1] it happens nevertheless that he becomes

[1] This is still widely believed, but is not true; not only are there well-authenticated instances of the birth of elephants in India, both the

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in season sometimes. One day when SHÁH JAHÁN was out hunting upon his elephant with one of his sons, who sat with him in order to fan him, the elephant became so much in heat that the driver, not being able to control it any longer, told the King that in order to arrest the rage of the elephant, which might crush them among the trees, it was necessary that one of the three who was on the elephant should offer himself up, and that with all his heart he sacrificed his life for the King and for his son, begging his majesty to take care of the three children whom he was leaving. Having said so, he threw himself under the elephant, and immediately the animal took him with his trunk, and having crushed him under his feet, became mild and tractable as before. The King, for this wonderful escape, gave 200,000 *rupees* to the poor, and promoted at court each of the sons of the man who had so generously given his life for the safety of his Prince.

I have to remark still that, although the skin of the elephant is very hard during life, when dead it feels like bird-lime in the hands.

Elephants come from many places in ASIA—from the island of CEYLON, where they are the smallest, but the most courageous of all; from the island of SUMATRA, the Kingdom of COCHIN, the Kingdom of SIAM, and the frontiers of the Kingdom of BHUTAN

parents having been in captivity, but recently elephants appear to have been successfully bred in America. Some of the Indian instances just referred to are given in the *Asian* for the 5th of June 1883, and a case of congress was not only witnessed by a number of officers at Thaetmyo in Burmah, but was actually photographed. A lithograph taken from this photograph will be found in the manual of *The Elephant*, by Mr. J. H. Steel, V.S., Madras, 1885.

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towards GREAT TARTARY. They come also from the coast of MELINDA,[1] on the East coast of AFRICA, where they must be very abundant, according to a report which was made to me at GOA by a Portuguese captain who came from that region to make some complaint against the Governor of MOZAMBIQUE. He told me that throughout that coast there are many enclosures fenced with elephants' tusks only,[2] and that some of them are more than a league in circuit. He added that the blacks of the country hunt the elephants, and that they eat the flesh, but for each elephant which they slay they have to give one of the tusks to their Chief. I have described how elephants are captured in the territory of the King of GOLCONDA; the following is the method employed in the island of CEYLON in the capture of these animals. A long passage, enclosed on both sides, is prepared, so that when an elephant has entered he cannot turn either to the right or to the left. This passage is wide to begin with, but narrows gradually to the end, where there is only room for a female elephant, which is in season, to lie down. Although tame she is nevertheless bound with chains and strong cords, and by her cries she attracts the male, who comes to her along the passage up to where it becomes narrow, which, when he has passed, the men who are concealed close that portion of the passage by a strong barricade which they have in readiness; and when the elephant is advanced a short distance farther, and is not far from the female, another

[1] This statement is of special interest if intended to mean that the African elephant was domesticated and exported to India.

[2] I think I have seen somewhere a statement by a comparatively recent African traveller that elephants' tusks are known to have been formerly so used for fences. (See vol. ii, p. 161.)

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barricade closes the passage in that direction. It is then that, with chains and ropes, which they have thrown on the elephant, they bind his trunk and legs, and enclose him in the trap so that he is unable to escape from it. A nearly identical method is followed in the Kingdoms of SIAM and PEGU, the only difference being that the peasants mount the female and go to the forests in search of the male. When they have found him, they tie up the female in the most convenient place which they can find, after which they lay snares for the elephant, who approaches slowly on hearing her cries.

It is especially remarkable of the female elephant that at certain seasons she collects all kinds of leaves and grass, with which she makes for herself a bed with a kind of bolster, elevated 4 or 5 feet from the ground, where, contrary to the nature of all other beasts, she lies to await the male, whom she calls by her cries.[1]

It is, moreover, peculiar to the elephants of CEYLON that it is only the first male produced by the female which has tusks.[2] It is to be remarked also that the ivory which comes from the islands of CEYLON and

[1] This is a fable, though there appears to be some foundation for the belief that natural inequalities in the ground are availed of during the act of congress.

[2] "While in Africa and India both sexes have tusks, with some slight disproportion in the size of those of the females, not one elephant in a hundred is found with tusks in Ceylon, and the few that possess them are exclusively males." (Sir E. Tennent, *Nat. Hist. of Ceylon*, p. 78.) The same authority states that the desire for ivory is so great in Ceylon that when a tusker is known to be in a herd he is hunted till shot. This may have been going on for a very long period, and may account for the tuskless character of the breed. Thus the action of man may have prevented the operation of the law of the survival of the fittest, as those having tusks would otherwise hold possession of the herds of females.

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ACHEEN[1] has the peculiarity when it is worked that it never becomes yellow like that which comes from the Peninsula and the WEST (*sic*) INDIES;[2] this causes it to be more esteemed and dearer than the other.

When merchants are taking elephants anywhere to sell, it is amusing to see them pass. As there are generally both old and young, when the former have passed the children run after the little ones which follow behind, playing with them and giving them something to eat. Whilst these young elephants, which are then alone, are occupied in taking what is given, the children jump upon them, and it is then that the fun begins. For the young elephants which have remained to eat, since their mothers have been all the time marching, being then some distance off, double their pace, and by flourishing the trunk throw on the ground the children who are upon them, without all the time doing them any harm. This does not in the least repel this little crowd, which continues to follow them for some time, offering them food as before.

Notwithstanding all the researches which I have made with much care, I have never been able to ascertain very exactly how long an elephant lives, and this is all the information one can obtain from those who tend these animals. They cannot say more than that such an elephant has been in the charge of their father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, and by estimating the time that these people may have lived,

[1] Achen in the original, it here stands for Sumatra.

[2] Tavernier makes a slip if he alludes to ivory from elephants, as there are no elephants in the West Indies.

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it is found that an elephant's age sometimes amounts to 120 or 130 years.[1]

I observe that the majority of those who have written accounts of INDIA say boldly that the GREAT MOGUL keeps 3000 or 4000 elephants. When at JAHÁNÁBÁD, where the King at present resides, I often inquired from the person who has charge of them, and who shows much friendship for the *Franks*, in order to know what the number of elephants was which he feeds for the service of the King, and he assured me that he had but 500,[2] which are called elephants of the household, because they are only employed to carry the women and the tents with all the rest of the baggage, and for war only 80 or at most 90. The most courageous of these last has to be supported by the eldest son of the King, and is allotted, both for food and for all other necessary expenses, 500 rupees a month, which amount to 750 *livres*. There are some that have only 50, others but 40, others 30, others 20 rupees; but the elephants which have 100 or 200 or 300 or 400 rupees a month have under them their horsemen to support, who live on this pay, and

[1] Mr. Sanderson says, "I think it by no means improbable, looking to their peculiar dentition and other circumstances, that elephants live to 150 or 200 years." Sir Emerson Tennant gives evidence regarding a particular elephant, that it was found in the stables in Ceylon by the Dutch when they expelled the Portuguese in 1656, that it served the Dutch for upwards of 140 years, and passed into the hands of the British in 1799. The *Aín-i-Akbári* gives the natural duration of an elephant's life at 120 years.

[2] The *Aín-i-Akbári* does not mention the number of elephants kept by the Great Mogul, but it gives a marvellous amount of details as to the classification, food, harness, capacities, and characteristics of the elephants in the establishment kept by Akbar. (See Gladwin's translation, vol. i, pp. 113-130.)

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also two, three, and up to six young elephants, who have to fan them during the great heat of the day. All these elephants do not remain in the town, as the majority go every morning to the country, where those who tend them take them into the jungles, where they eat branches of trees, sugar-canes, and millet, by which the poor peasants suffer much loss. This is profitable to those who tend these animals, because the more they eat in the country, the less food they consume in the town—the saving goes into the purse of these persons.

This same day, the 27th of August, we travelled 6 leagues farther, and slept at a large town called RAGIAPETA.[1]

On the 28th, after having made 8 leagues, we came to OUDECOUR.[2]

On the 29th, after a march of nine hours, we arrived at OUTEMEDA,[3] where there is one of the grandest pagodas in the whole of INDIA. It is all built of large cut stones, and it has three towers where there are many deformed figures cut in relief. It is surrounded by many small chambers for the dwelling of the priests of the pagoda, and 500 paces off there is a great tank, upon the borders of which there are many

[1] Ragiapeta—perhaps Rajahpully—must be near Codoor of A.S.

[2] Oodcoor or Ootkoor of A.S., is close to Rajumpett, a station on the Madras and Bombay railroad, not to be mistaken for a place of the same name near Cuddapah station.

[3] Wuntimitta, Vontimitta, or Wintemetta, in the Cuddapah District, is a station on the Madras and Bombay railroad, Lat. 14° 24′ N., Long. 79° 5′ E., 18 miles from Ootkoor. "The pagoda is dedicated to Kodandarámaswámi, and is said to have been built by one of the Chitvail Rajas 300 years ago. If, however, the inscriptions of Gandikot are to be believed, it must have been built by a member of the Vijayanagar dynasty in the fourteenth century." (*Imperial Gazetteer.*)

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small pagodas of 8 or 10 feet square, and in each an idol in the form of a demon, with a *Brahmin*,[1] who takes care that any stranger who is not of their faith does not come to wash or take water from the tank. If a stranger wishes for water they carry him some in earthen pots, and if by chance their pot touches the vessel of the stranger they break the pot. I am told, also, as I have elsewhere remarked, that if any one not being of their faith washes in the tank it becomes necessary for them to let out all the water which is then in it. As for charity, they are very liberal, for no one passes who is in want and who asks, to whom they do not give to eat and drink of whatever they may happen to have. You meet many women on these roads, some of whom always keep fire to light the tobacco of passers, and even to those who have not tobacco they give a pipe. The others go there to cook rice with *quicheri*,[2] which is a grain like our hemp-seed; others, too, cook beans, because the water in which they are cooked never causes pleurisy to those who are overheated. There are among these women some who have vowed to perform this charity for travellers during seven or eight years; others for more or less time according to their convenience, and they give each traveller bean water and rice water to drink, and two or three handsful of this cooked rice to eat. Other women are to be seen on the highroads and in the fields following horses, oxen, and cows; these have vowed to eat nothing but what they find

[1] *Bramere* in the original, Brahmin.

[2] For *khichri*, Hind., a term applied to a dish of boiled rice and *dál*, a kind of pulse (*Cajanus indicus*), flavoured with spices and onions; it is therefore not the name of a seed itself. (See Book II, chap. ix.)

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undigested in these animals' droppings. As neither barley[1] nor oats are to be had in this country, the cattle are fed on certain large and hard peas,[2] which are first crushed between two grindstones and then allowed to steep for half an hour, for they are very hard and consequently difficult of digestion. The horses are given some of these peas every evening, and in the morning they receive about two pounds of coarse black sugar, which is almost like wax, kneaded with an equal weight of flour and a pound of butter, of which mixture the grooms make pellets or small balls, which are forced down the horses' throats, otherwise they would not eat them. Afterwards their mouths are washed, especially the teeth, which are covered with the paste, this gives them a dislike to this kind of food. During the day the horses are given some grass which is torn up in the fields, roots and all, and is most carefully washed so that no earth remains.[3]

On the 30th [August] we made 8 leagues, and halted at GOULAPALI.[4]

On the 31st, after a march of nine hours, we stopped at GOGERON.[5]

On the first day of September we made only 6

[1] I do not know when barley was first introduced, but it is certainly now largely grown in India.

[2] *Gram*, the seed of *Cicer arietinum*, Linn., or of *Dolichos uniflorus*, Lam.

[3] This is the kind of fodder still given to horses in India, but the clay is removed by beating not by washing. The daily preparation of this is the principal duty of the second attendant on a horse—the *Ghasiyára* or grasscutter.

[4] Goulapali is not given on the atlas sheet, it must have been near Chennur, close to a number of diamond mines (see vol. ii, p. 450). Possibly it may be identical with Ganganapally.

[5] Not identified. Must be near Moodanoor station if south of the Pennair, but if north of it, it may be Goriganoor.

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leagues, and we came to a halt at GANDIKOT.[1] It was only eight days since the *Nawáb* had taken this town after a three months' siege, and he would not have taken it but for the aid of some Frenchmen who had quitted the Dutch service on account of the treatment which they had received. He also had as gunners many English and Dutch, with two or three Italians, who gave him great aid in the capture of the place.

GANDIKOT is one of the fortified towns which are in the Kingdom of CARNATIC.[2] It is built on the summit of a high mountain, and the sole means of access to it is by a very difficult road, which is only 20 or 25 feet wide, and in certain parts only 7 or 8; the *Nawáb* was then commencing to improve it. On the right of the road, which is cut in the mountain, there is a fearful precipice, at the base of which runs a large river. When on the mountain you see a small plain about a quarter of a league wide and half a league long. It is sown with rice and millet, and is watered by many small springs. At the level of the plain to the south, where the town is built on a point, the limits are formed by precipices, with two rivers which bound the point at the base; so that, in order to enter the town, there is but one gate on the plain side, and it is fortified in this direction with three good

[1] Gandikot, a fort at an elevation of 1670 feet above the sea in the Yerramalai Mountains of the Kadapa (Cuddupah) District, Lat. 14° 48′ N., Long. 78° 20′ E. According to Ferishta it was built in 1589. It was captured by the British under Captain Little in the first war with Tipu in 1791, and was thus again proved not to have been impregnable, having first yielded, as here related, to Mir Jumlá.

[2] The Carnatic or Karnatic embraced Mysore and parts of Telingána, and corresponded with the Kingdom of Vijáyanagar. (See p. 259 *n.* and for use of the name at various periods, Yule-Burnell, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*.)

[3] Pennair river.

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walls of cut stone, with the ditches at their bases faced with the same stone. Consequently, during the siege, the inhabitants had only to guard a space of 400 or 500 paces wide. They had only two iron guns—one being a 12-pounder, the other 7 to 8; the first was placed on the gate, and the other on the point of a kind of bastion. Until the *Nawáb* found a means to mount guns above he lost many men from the frequent sorties made by the besieged. The *Raja* who was in the town was considered to be one of the best and bravest commanders among the idolaters, and the *Nawáb*, seeing at length that the place could not be taken unless guns were carried up to the heights, ordered all the *Franks* who were in the service of the King as gunners to come to him, and promised to each four months' wages more than their ordinary pay if they could find some means of conveying guns to the heights. In this they were successful. They mounted four guns, with which they bombarded the place, and they were so fortunate as to direct them against the gun which was on the gate, which they rendered useless. When they had battered down half the gate of the town the besieged capitulated; they evacuated the place under honourable conditions. On the day upon which we arrived the whole army was encamped at the base of the mountain in a plain, where there is a very fine river,[1] and the *Nawáb* was just ending the review of the cavalry, which were very smart. An English gunner, with his comrade, an Italian, seeing M. DU JARDIN[2] and myself pass, and recognising us to be *Franks*, as it was late politely came to meet us, and invited us to spend the night with them. It was

[1] Pennair.

[2] See p. 258 and Index.

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from them that we heard that there was a French gunner then in the town, named CLAUDE MAILLÉ of BOURGES,[1] and that he was engaged in casting some cannon which the *Nawáb* wished to leave in the place.

On the following day, being the 2d of the month, we ascended to the town and stopped at the house of MAILLÉ, whom I had known at BATAVIA, where he was in the service of the Dutch, serving them as gardener to the General. He received us with much joy, and having at first notified the *Nawáb* of our arrival, he ordered them to provide us lodging and necessary food immediately, not only for ourselves, but also for our horses and oxen, during the stay that we were going to make at GANDIKOT.

On the 3d [September] we went to see the *Nawáb*, who had caused his tents to be pitched on the summit of the mountains, in the quarter bordering the road cut in the rock. He received us well, asking us if we were comfortably housed, and if we had been given the food which he had ordered for ourselves and horses. Subsequently he inquired the cause which had brought us thither, and we replied that we had brought some goods sufficiently choice for the King, but that we had not wished to go to his majesty before showing them to him—well knowing that the King bought nothing of high price without his advice, and that, in any case, we considered such deference to be due to him. The *Nawáb* assured us that our compliment had not displeased him, and after he had caused *betle*[2] to be pre-

[1] For further particulars regarding this gun founder and surgeon, see pp. 116, 289, and 301.

[2] *Betel*, Port. The leaf of *Chavica betel*, used as a masticatory together with areca nut and lime. In some parts of India, and by Europeans in India generally, it is called *pawn*. (See p. 265.)

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sented to us we took our leave and returned to the town. We found all the gunners awaiting us, and we all assembled at MAILLÉ's house for supper, where the *Nawáb* sent us two bottles of wine—one Spanish, the other of Shiraz—which is rare in this country. As for brandy, they have no lack of it, for they make it of rice and also of sugar, of which there is an abundance in all these parts of INDIA.

On the 4th we again visited the *Nawáb*, and showed him the jewels which we hoped to sell to the King. They consisted of some pear-shaped pearls[1] of a weight, beauty, and size which were unusual—the least exceeding 24 carats. After having examined them well, and shown them to a number of nobles who were with him, he asked us the price; which having heard, he returned them to us, and at the same time said he would consider it. He made us dine with him, and after the repast we withdrew to the town, where we remained till the 10th without seeing the *Nawáb*.

On the morning of the 10th [September] he sent to summon us, and as soon as we were seated in his tent, close to him, the attendants brought him five small bags full of diamonds, and each bag contained about as many as one could hold in the hand. They were all *lasques*,[2] but of very dark water and very small, and for the most part were only 1 carat or half a carat in weight, but otherwise very clear. There were very few which amounted to 2 carats. The *Nawáb*, when showing us these stones, asked if such goods were saleable in our country. We replied that

[1] The principal pearl was afterwards sold to Sháistá Khán (see *ante*, p. 20).

[2] *Lasques*, a term applied by jewellers to flat and oval stones, such as are used in Indian jewellery.

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one might sell them provided the water was white, because in EUROPE we do not esteem diamonds if they are not clear and white, and that we made no account of other kinds of water. When he first began to contemplate the conquest of this Kingdom for the King of GOLCONDA, he was told that it had diamond mines, and he sent 12,000 men to work them, who in the space of a year only found those which he had in the five bags. The *Nawáb*, seeing that they only found stones of very brown water, tending much more to black than white, rightly considered that it was loss of trouble, and forbidding further mining, sent all these poor people back to tillage.[1] After the *Nawáb* had closed up his diamonds again, and we had dined with him, he mounted his horse, accompanied by many nobles, to go hunting, and desired to take us with him; but we begged him to excuse us, and we left without his speaking to us of our pearls.

On the 11th [September] all the *Frank* gunners went to the *Nawáb's* tent, crying out that they had not been paid the four months' wages which had been promised, and that if they were not paid they would go to take service elsewhere, upon which the *Nawáb* put them off till the following day.

On the 12th, the gunners not having omitted to repair to the tent of the *Nawáb*, he ordered them to be paid for three months, and promised them at the close

[1] The exact position of these mines (or washings ?) is unknown, but they were probably situated in the neighbourhood of the Pennair river. The nearest of the Kadapa (Cuddapah) sites known in modern times was at Jalmudugu, which is only 5 or 6 miles E. of Gandikot. There are a number of mines near Kadapa (see *Economic Geology of India*, p. 9). In Book II, chap. xvii, Tavernier says there were six of them. The mine at Wadjra-Karur, in Bellary, was also taken by Mir Jumla.

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of the current month to pay the fourth. They had no sooner received this money than they treated one another, and the *baladines*[1] carried off more than half of it.

On the 13th the *Nawáb* went to the town to see the foundry which MAILLÉ had erected by his orders. MAILLÉ, as I have said, was from BOURGES, and enlisted at AMSTERDAM for INDIA. Having reached BATAVIA, the General, perceiving that he was skilful and very intelligent, kept him in his personal service to make some grottoes and fountains in his garden. But MAILLÉ, being neither satisfied with this employment nor with the rough treatment of the General, found means to place himself in the suite of M. CHETEUR, who was sent from BATAVIA to the *Nawáb*, then engaged in the siege of GANDIKOT. This Envoy having accomplished his business with the *Nawáb*, and MAILLÉ knowing that he would be leaving on the following day, took possession of the case and box of ointments belonging to the Ambassador's surgeon, and concealed himself till such time as the Envoy departed, without being able to find MAILLÉ, in spite of all the search he could make, which had obliged him to delay his departure for some days. As soon as MAILLÉ heard that the Envoy was gone, he was appointed to the service of the *Nawáb* as surgeon; and some time after, having informed him that he was a good gunner and founder, he entered his service in that capacity. The *Nawáb* having taken GANDIKOT, and desiring to have some cannon inside the fort, where it was very difficult to carry them, proposed to MAILLÉ[2] to cast

[1] Dancing-girls (see p. 87).

[2] In 1665 Tavernier met a man with the same name installed as physician to the Governor at Allahabad, but does not allude to him expressly as being the same person. (See p. 116.)

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twenty pieces—ten of 48 pounds, and ten others of 24 pounds; this MAILLÉ undertook to do. He was supplied with copper for this purpose from all quarters, and the *Nawáb* collected a quantity of idols which had been removed from the pagodas which his army had visited. There is in GANDIKOT a pagoda which is considered to be one of the principal in INDIA, where there are many idols, some being of gold and others of silver. Among these idols there were six of copper, three of which were seated on their heels, and the three others were about 10 feet high. After MAILLÉ had made all preparations to melt these metals and the idols which had been brought from different places, he accomplished the melting of all except the six large idols of the famous pagoda of GANDIKOT.[1] It was impossible for him to melt them, no matter how much the *Nawáb* expended; and he even threatened the priests of the pagoda, whom he accused of having bewitched the idols. In short, MAILLÉ never accomplished making a single cannon, one being split, another incomplete; and so he relinquished all the work he had undertaken, and sometime afterwards quitted the service of the *Nawáb*.

On the 14th we went to the tent of the *Nawáb* to take leave of him, and to hear what he had to say regarding the goods which we had shown him. But we were told that he was engaged examining a number of criminals, who had been brought to him for immediate punishment. It is the custom in this country not to keep a man in prison; but immediately

[1] Possibly these idols were made of iron and not of copper; this would account for the difficulty in melting them. Cast-iron was known in India in early times. The story may, however, be mythical.

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the accused is taken he is examined and sentence is pronounced on him, which is then executed without any delay. If the person whom they have seized is found to be innocent he is released at once; and whatever the nature of the case may be, it is promptly concluded. Moreover, we were told that it would be difficult for us to see the *Nawáb* on that day, because he intended to descend to the plain to review the greater part of his army. We did not omit, however, to meet him at the door of his tent in the evening, where, having dismounted, and M. DU JARDIN and I having saluted him, he invited us to come to see him early on the following day.

On the 15th, at seven o'clock in the morning, we went to the *Nawáb*, and immediately we were announced he asked us to enter his tent, where he was seated with two of his secretaries by him. According to the custom of the country—where one goes with naked feet in slippers, without stockings, because wherever you enter you walk on a carpet, and sit in this country as in Turkey, and as our tailors do here,—the *Nawáb* had the intervals between his toes full of letters, and he also had many between the fingers of the left hand. He drew them sometimes from his feet, sometimes from his hand, and sent his replies through his two secretaries, writing some also himself. After the secretaries had finished the letters, he made them read them; and he then took them and himself affixed his seal, giving some to footmen, others to horsemen. For it should be remarked that in INDIA all the letters which the Kings, Generals of Armies, and the Governors of Provinces send by footmen go much faster than by horsemen. The reason is that at every two leagues

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there are small huts, where two or three men employed for running live, and immediately when the carrier of a letter has arrived at one of these huts he throws it to the others at the entrance, and one of them takes it up and at once sets off to run. It is considered unlucky to give a letter into the hand of the messenger; it is therefore thrown at his feet, and he must lift it up. It is still to be remarked that throughout INDIA the greater part of the roads are like avenues of trees, and those which have not trees planted, have at every 500 paces small pieces of stone which the inhabitants of the nearest villages are bound to whiten from time to time, so that the letter carriers can distinguish the road on dark and rainy nights. While we were with the *Nawáb* he was informed that four prisoners, who were then at the door of the tent, had arrived. He remained more than half an hour without replying, writing continually and making his secretaries write, but at length he suddenly ordered the criminals to be brought in; and after having questioned them, and made them confess with their own mouths the crime of which they were accused, he remained nearly an hour without saying anything, continuing to write and to make his secretaries write. Then there entered into his tent many officers of the army who came to pay their respects with great humility, and to whose salute he replied only by an inclination of the head.

Among these four prisoners who were brought into his presence there was one who had entered a house and had slain a mother and her three infants. He was condemned forthwith to have his feet and hands cut off, and to be thrown into a field near the

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high road to end his days. Another had stolen on the high road, and the *Nawáb* ordered him to have his stomach slit open and to be flung in a drain. I could not ascertain what the others had done, but both their heads were cut off. While all this passed the dinner was served, for the *Nawáb* generally eats at ten o'clock, and he made us dine with him. The *sufra*[1] being removed, we took leave of the majority of the nobles who had also eaten with the *Nawáb;* and when only two or three persons remained with him, we inquired through his interpreter if he had any commands for us, and whether he thought that our goods should be shown to the King. He replied that we might go to GOLCONDA, where he would communicate with his son, to whom he would write on our behalf, and that his letter would arrive before us. He ordered sixteen horsemen to conduct us, and provide for us on the road whatever we required, up to a river 13 leagues from GANDIKOT, where no one is allowed to cross without having the *Nawáb's* passport, so that the soldiers may not be able to desert.

[1] *Sufra*, Hin., tablecloth.

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CHAPTER XIX

Route from GANDIKOT *to* GOLCONDA

ON the morning of the 16th[1] [September 1652] we left GANDIKOT, accompanied by the majority of the gunners, who came with us to the first halt, carrying plenty of food with them; and this day we only made 7 leagues, and slept at COTEPALI.[2]

On the 17th, after having breakfasted with the gunners, who then returned to GANDIKOT, we pursued our way with the sixteen horsemen of the *Nawáb*, and having travelled 6 leagues we slept at a village named COTEEN,[3] beyond the river, which was then very full. As soon as we had crossed it the sixteen horsemen took leave of us; and having offered their chief some rupees to buy tobacco and *betel*, we could not induce him to accept anything. The boats employed in crossing this river are like large baskets,[4] covered outside with ox hides, at the bottom of which some faggots are placed, upon which carpets are spread to put the baggage

[1] M. Joret has been misled by a misprint of 26th for 16th, and is therefore wrong in his argument founded on the supposition that Tavernier left Gandikot on the 26th (*J. B. Tavernier*, p. 131).

[2] Cottapilly in A.S. No. 76; it is, however, 24 miles from Gandikot. Cotalpully and Gopalpilly are about 4 miles nearer.

[3] Not identified on the map. The exact route followed by Tavernier from Gandikot up to Goodymetta is very uncertain.

[4] Coracles. (See p. 299, and Book II, chap. xv.)

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and goods on, for fear they should get wet. As for the coaches and carts, they are tied by the pole and wheels between two of these baskets, but the horses are made to swim across, a man driving his horse from behind with a whip, and another in the basket holding it by the halter. As for the oxen, which, according to the custom of the country, carry the baggage, as soon as they reach the bank of the river and have been unloaded, they are driven in, and they cross the water without assistance. There are four men to each basket, one at each corner, who stand and row with paddles. Should one of them fail to keep equal stroke with the others, or that they do not all keep time, the basket turns three or four times round, and the current carrying it down, it descends much lower than the spot where it was intended to land.

On the 18th [September], after a march of five hours, we arrived at MORIMOL.[1]

On the 19th we made 9 leagues, and halted at SANTESELA.[2]

On the 20th we made 9 leagues more, and slept at GOREMEDA[3] (GOODYMETTA).

On the 21st, after six hours of marching, we passed the night at KAMAN.[4] It was a frontier town of the kingdom of Golconda, before the conquest of that of CARNATIC by the army of MIR JUMLA, of which I have spoken in the preceding chapter.

[1] Perhaps Porenaumla.

[2] Not identified. As Tavernier does not mention the diamond mines of Baswapur, close by, they had probably not been discovered then. (See *Economic Geology of India*, p. 13.)

[3] Goodymetta, 8 miles N.E. of Giddaloor.

[4] Kammam, Cummum, or Cumbum. The distance from Goodymetta measured on the map is 12 miles.

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On the 22d we travelled 7 leagues, and slept at EMELIPATA.[1] At about half way we met more than 4000 persons, both men and women, and more than twenty *pallankeens*, each of which contained an idol. They were ornamented with gold, brocade of gold and velvet, with fringes of gold and silver, and some of these *pallankeens* were carried by four men, others by eight, and others by twelve, according to the size and weight of the idols. On each side of the *pallankeens* was a man with a large round fan of about 5 feet in diameter, made of beautiful ostrich and peacock feathers of different colours. The handles of these fans were 5 or 6 feet long, and covered with gold and silver nearly of the thickness of a French crown (*écu*). Each one strove to carry these fans in order to serve the idol by fanning it, to prevent the flies alighting on the face. Another fan, which is somewhat larger, and which had no handle, was carried like a shield. It was ornamented with feathers of different colours, ranged round little gold and silver bells. The person carrying it walked close to the *pallankeen*, on the sunny side, in order to shade the idol, for to close the curtains of the *pallankeen* would have made it too hot. From time to time the bearer of the shield shook it in order to ring the bells, so that the idol might be amused. All these people with their idols came from BURHÁNPUR and the neighbourhood, and were going to visit their great *Ram Ram, i.e.* their great god, who is in a pagoda in the territory of King of CARNATIC. They had been fully thirty days on the road, and had to march fourteen or fifteen more before reaching the pagoda.[2]

[1] Vamulpetta, 14 miles from Cumbum.

[2] In Book II, chap. xiii, Tavernier describes meeting at Daulatábád

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One of my attendants who was from BURHÁNPUR, and of the tribe of these very people, asked me to give him a holiday to go with them to accompany his gods, saying that a long time ago he had vowed to make this pilgrimage. I was obliged to give it, well knowing that if I did not give him the holiday he would himself take it, as he had many relatives in the troop. About two months later he rejoined me at SURAT, and as he had served M. DU JARDIN and myself faithfully, I made no difficulty about re-employing him. On asking him some questions about the pilgrimage which he had just made, he related to me a thing difficult to believe, but which happened, as he said, in this manner. Six days after having left me, all the pilgrims had contemplated sleeping at a village; and before reaching it they had to cross a river, which during the summer contains but little water and may be forded anywhere. But when it rains in INDIA the water falls in such quantity that it appears like a deluge, and in less than an hour or two, small streams rise 2 or 3 feet in depth. The rain having surprised these pilgrims, this river increased so quickly that it was impossible to cross it that day. It is not necessary that those who travel in INDIA should provide themselves with food beforehand, —especially is this the case with the idolaters, who do not eat anything which has had life—because even in the smallest villages they always find in abundance rice, flour, butter, milk, beans, and other vegetables, sugar and other sweetmeats, dry and liquid. This multitude

a similar procession of 2000 persons on their way to Tripatty pagoda from Tatta, in Sind. All the details are different. I cannot agree with M. Joret (*J. B. Tavernier*, p. 131) in his identification of the two occasions, and do not see any difficulty in taking both accounts as they stand as being distinct.

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of people, who had no food with them, were much astonished on arrival at the bank of this river to see it so high and swollen, and at not being able to cross in order to go to the village, which was on the other side, where they intended to make their halt. They had nothing to give their children to eat, and nothing was to be heard save lamentations among this crowd. In this extremity the chief of their priests sat down in the middle of them, and causing himself to be covered with a large sheet began to call those who wished for food to approach him. He asked each what he wanted, whether rice or flour, and for how many persons; and with a large ladle which he held, lifting the corner of the sheet, he gave to all whatever they had asked for; so that this large number of people of 4000 souls was satisfied.[1]

It was not only my servant who related this history, but having subsequently made many journeys to BURHÁNPUR, where I was known to the principal persons of the town, I made inquiry of many who had been on this pilgrimage, and all have sworn to me by their *Ram Ram* that it was true, which I nevertheless could not believe.

On the 23d [September] we arrived at Doupar,[2] after having travelled 8 leagues, and crossed many torrents.

[1] It is perhaps not too much to say, that with natives of India the more *prima facie* incredibility there is in a story like this, the more likely is it to obtain credence from them. Its resemblance to a certain Christian miracle is remarkable. In this connection we may appropriately quote General Sleeman's remarks (*Rambles and Recollections*, vol. ii, pp. 51, 94) to the effect that—"The miracles of Christianity exercise no influence on the imaginations of the Hindus, who can always tell of greater ones." We may call to mind also the alleged miracles performed by sundry modern theosophists, and believed in by their disciples.

[2] Dupad, called Dupar Fort on Major Scott's Map.

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On the 24th we made but 4 leagues, and came to TRIPANTÉ,[1] where there is a grand pagoda on a hill, the whole circuit of which forms a staircase and is faced with cut stone. The smallest stone of this staircase is 10 feet long and 3 feet wide, and in the pagoda there are many figures of demons. There is one, among others, which resembles a Venus standing upright, with many demons who surround her in lascivious attitudes, and this Venus and demons are made of a single piece of marble, but the carving is very coarse.

On the 25th we travelled 8 leagues, and halted at MAMLI (MURRAYVAMLA).

On the 26th we also travelled 8 leagues, and slept at MACHELI (MACHURLA).

On the 27th we made only 3 leagues, because we had to cross a large river in baskets; this generally occupies half a day.[2] For when we reached the margin of the water we saw neither basket nor any other means of crossing. A man came, with whom we bargained for our passage; and to prove if the money which we gave was good he made a large fire, and threw it into it.[3] He did the same with that of all persons whom he took across. If amongst the money which he received he found a rupee which became somewhat black, one had to give him another, which he also heated; then after he had proved that the money was good he called out to his comrades to bring the basket, which is generally concealed in some spot on the opposite side

[1] Tripurantakhan, 11 or 12 miles N.E. of Dupad. It is the Tripparanticum of the Atlas Sheet.

[2] The Kistná is, I believe, still crossed by means of coracles at the present day (see p. 294, and Book II, chap. xv).

[3] See p. 30.

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of the river. For these people are cunning, and seeing from afar off on which side the travellers are coming they send the basket to the other bank so as not to be compelled to take across any one without being paid. The money being counted, and the man who had received it having called his comrades, you see them carrying the basket on their shoulders to the edge of the water, and having launched it they come across to fetch those waiting on the other side.

On the 28th, having made 5 leagues, we halted at a place called DABIR-PINTA.

On the 29th, after a march of 12 hours, we slept at HOLCORA.[1]

On the 30th we made 8 leagues, and passed the night at PERIDERA.[2]

On Monday, the 1st day of October, after having made 10 leagues, we slept at ATENARA.[3] It is one of the houses of pleasure built by the Queen, mother of the King who reigns at present. It has many rooms, opening on a grand square which is in front of the house, for the accommodation of travellers.

It should be remarked that in all the countries which we have just passed through, both in the Kingdom of CARNATIC and the Kingdoms of GOLCONDA and of BIJAPUR, there are hardly any physicians except for the Kings and Princes. As for the commonality, when the rains have fallen and it is the season to

[1] Dabir-Pinta and Holcora I have failed to identify. The former should be looked for between Davirkondah and the river Kistná.

[2] Peridera is perhaps identical with Poraigoda of modern maps. It is about 26 miles from Golconda.

[3] This appears to be the place elsewhere named Tenara (see p. 172), where the distance from Golconda is given as being 4 *coss*. It is also called Tenara by Thevenot.

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collect plants, in the mornings you see mothers of families going out from the towns and villages to collect the simples which they know to be proper for the diseases which occur in a family. It is true that in good towns there are generally one or two men who have some knowledge of medicine, who seat themselves each morning in the market-place or at a corner of the street in order to administer remedies, either potions or plasters, to those who come to ask for them. They first feel the pulse, and when giving the medicine, for which they take only the value of two farthings, they mumble some words between their teeth.

On the 2d of October we had only 4 leagues to make to GOLCONDA. We went to stop at the house of a young Dutch surgeon of the King, named PITRE DE LAN, whom M. CHETEUR, the Batavian Envoy, had left at GOLCONDA—the King having asked for him from him very earnestly.[1] This Prince always suffered from a pain in the head, and the physicians had ordered him to be bled under the tongue in four places; but he was unable to find any one willing to undertake it—for, regarding surgery, the people of the country understand nothing about it.

Before DE LAN entered the service of the King he was asked if he could bleed well, to which he replied that it was the least difficult part of surgery.

[1] Called Pieter de Lange in *Histoire General des Voyages*, vol. xiii, p. 35. According to Valentyn he afforded good service to his country as their representative at the Court of Golconda till 1656. He was succeeded by another surgeon, who died in 1660, after which the Dutch established a factory at Golconda. On p. 289 we have been told that Claude Maillé of Bourges deserted M. Cheteur and set up as surgeon to Mir Jumla.

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It was with great reluctance that the Batavian Envoy consented to leave him. But he did not wish to disoblige the King, and DE LAN received 800 *pagodas* as salary. Some days after the Envoy's departure the King summoned this surgeon and told him that he wished him to bleed him on the following day in four places under the tongue, as his physicians had directed, but that he should take care not to draw more than eight ounces. DE LAN returning to the Court on the following day, was conducted into a room by two or three eunuchs, and four old women came to conduct him to a bath where, having undressed and washed him well, especially his hands, they anointed him with drugs and aromatics; and in place of his own clothes, which were of European make, they gave him a garment made according to the fashion of the country. They then took him to the King, where they brought basins of gold which the physicians who were present weighed; these were to receive the blood. He then bled the King under the tongue in four places, and he did it so skilfully that, on weighing the blood with the basins, he found that he had drawn eight ounces exactly.[1] The King was so satisfied with this operation that he gave him 300 *pagodas*, which are equal to nearly 700 *écus*. The young Queen and the Queen-dowager having heard of it, desired that he would come to bleed them, but I believe it was more from the curiosity they had to see him than for any need they had to be bled, for he was a young and well-made man, and probably in their lives they had not seen a stranger close—for from a distance the thing is not impossible, since from the

[1] He was, therefore, successful under conditions somewhat similar to those from which Shylock recoiled.

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place where they stay they are able to see without being themselves seen. DE LAN was then brought into a chamber, where the same women who had taken him to the bath before he had bled the King uncovered his arms, which they washed well, and especially his hands, after which they anointed him with scented oil, as they had done when he went to bleed the King. That being done, they drew a curtain, and the young Queen putting out an arm through a hole, the surgeon bled her, and he afterwards did the same for the Queen mother. The first bestowed on him 50, and the other 30 *pagodas*,[1] with some pieces of gold brocade.

Two days after our arrival we went to salute the son of the *Nawáb*, and were told that we could not speak to him on that day. The following day we returned, and as the same thing was repeated, some one told us that we might amuse ourselves in that manner for a long time, and that he was a young noble who scarcely ever left the presence of the King, and that on leaving the palace he shut himself up in his harem with his women. The surgeon, DE LAN, seeing that our business might become protracted, offered to speak of it to the first physician of the King, who was also in his confidence, who, having shown much friendship for the Batavian Envoy and for DE LAN himself could easily find an opportunity for obliging us. In short, as soon as DE LAN had spoken to him he sent for us, in order to inquire what service he could render us. After he had saluted us, he caressed us a thousand times, and, having invited us to be seated, ordered some fruits of the country to be brought. He then inquired whence we had come, and upon what subject

[1] About £25 and £15.

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we desired to speak to the King; and having told him that we had some choice pearls which we wished to show to his Majesty, he asked us to show them to him the following day—this we did. After he had seen them, he told us to replace them in their little bags, desiring us to close them with our seal, because all things presented to the King should be sealed with the seal of the merchant, and when the King has seen it he places his, in order that there may be no fraud. Thus we left the whole sealed packet in his hands, and he promised to show it to the King, and render us a good account of the service which he had undertaken in order to oblige us.

The following morning, very early, we went to hunt with DE LAN, and on returning, at eight or nine o'clock A.M., we went to the river's bank to see how the elephants of the King and the great nobles are washed. The elephant enters the water up to the belly, and lying down on one side takes water from time to time in its trunk and throws it upon the uncovered portion of its body in order to wash it well. The keeper then takes a kind of pumicestone, and rubbing the skin cleans it of all the dirt which has accumulated upon it. Some believe that when this animal lies on the ground it cannot get up by itself;[1] this is quite contrary to what I have seen, for as soon as the keeper has rubbed it well on one side he orders it to turn on the other, which the elephant does promptly, and after it is well washed on both sides it leaves the river and remains for some time on the bank in order to dry itself. Then the keeper brings a pot full of red or yellow paint,

[1] This old fable, though discountenanced by Pliny, has had a wonderfully persistent existence.

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and paints lines on its forehead, around the eyes, on the chest, and on the back, rubbing it then with cocoanut oil to strengthen the nerves, some keepers finally adding false tinsel on the forehead.[1]

On the 15th[2] [October] the chief physician sent for us at two o'clock P.M., and returned us our pearls, carefully sealed with the King's seal, which his Majesty had ordered to be placed upon them after he had seen them. He asked us the price of each, this we told him, and, as he had a eunuch with him who noted all down, the latter, being astonished at seeing pearls of such a price, remarked that we took the people of the court of the King of GOLCONDA for persons without judgment or knowledge, and that he saw daily other precious things which were brought to the King. I replied sharply to the eunuch that I could well believe that he knew the price of a female slave better than that of a jewel, and so saying we shut up our pearls, and taking leave of the physician, returned to our lodging. We had no sooner arrived there than we sent to hire two coaches, each of us having already a bridle horse, and, on the following day, in the morning, we left GOLCONDA, and were not able to travel more than a league and a half that day, because the Portuguese, English, and Dutch gunners of the King escorted us, and we spent our time in enjoying ourselves.

There is no need to repeat here what I have said at

[1] This sort of decoration, like the washing, is practised in India at the present day.

[2] Thus in the edition of 1676, but in other editions this date is given as the 25th. M. Joret (*J. B. Tavernier*, p. 131) concludes from the latter that Tavernier left for Surat on the 26th. But it appears probable that the 25th is a misprint, and that it was on the earlier date, *i.e.* the 15th. Hence his departure for Surat would have been on the 16th of October.

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the beginning of this volume, and as we returned from GOLCONDA to SURAT by the same route as I took from SURAT to GOLCONDA, there being no other,—I have nothing to say except that, having left GOLCONDA immediately after the reply which I made to the eunuch, the King, who did not hear of it for two days after our departure, sent four or five horsemen after us with orders to bring us back to court if they found us. We had already made five marches from GOLCONDA, one of them being in the territories of the GREAT MOGUL, when one of these horsemen came to us at sunset, his companions having remained on the frontier of the two kingdoms, rightly believing that as we had passed the boundary we would not be willing to return. This horseman showed us the order to make us return which he had received from the King, his master, who had told him that he would buy our pearls, and that he thought it very strange that we had left without saying anything. As we were no longer in the territory of GOLCONDA the horseman could only urge us to return with him, giving us all possible assurances that we should be satisfied, and M. DU JARDIN had almost yielded; but I, knowing the atmosphere of the country better, told the horseman frankly that it was impossible, and after he had left I made my companion comprehend my reasons for being unwilling to return to GOLCONDA.

Having arrived at SURAT,[1] where a few days afterwards M. DU JARDIN died of an effusion of bile, as I

[1] As he left Golconda on the 16th of October, and the journey thither took from twenty-one to twenty-six days, according to the route travelled, he should have reached Surat either on the 7th or the 12th of November. As stated in the previous note, M. Joret has been misled by a misprint to the conclusion that Tavernier started for Surat on the 26th. Further, he seems to mistake this record of the death

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have related in my account of PERSIA, I made arrangements to go to AGRA to see SHÁH JÁHÁN, who was then on the throne. But the *Nawáb* SHÁISTÁ KHÁN, brother-in-law of the King, and Governor of the Province of GUJARÁT, of whom I have elsewhere spoken, sent to me from AHMADÁBÁD, where he resided, one of the principal officers of his household, in order to tell me that having heard I had some beautiful jewels to sell he would be much pleased if I went to him, assuring me that he would pay for them as liberally as the King. I received this message during the illness of M. DU JARDIN, who died on the ninth day; and after we had rendered him our last duties at SURAT, I went to AHMADÁBÁD, where I at once transacted some business with the *Nawáb*. As he understood all kinds of jewels perfectly well, we were at once agreed, and there was no difference between us save as to the nature of the payment. He gave me a choice of coins, and only stipulated that I should take golden or silver rupees, but this Prince giving me to understand that he did not wish that so large a sum should be seen leaving his house, suggested that I should take my payment in golden rupees, which would appear less. I agreed to what he advised, and he showed me some very fine gold, namely, old rupees which apparently had not seen the light for a long time. But as the current price of the golden rupee is only 14 silver rupees,[1] and

of M. du Jardin for that of M. Ardillière his son. Tavernier's reference to the latter as being alive in 1653 is, therefore, not inconsistent, and further we have mention (*Persian Travels*, Book II, chap. x) of a Baron d'Ardillière being in Marseilles with our author in 1657, but I cannot say that he was the same person. See *Jean Baptiste Tavernier*, by Joret, pp. 114 and 131.

[1] From this proportion, with the rupee at 2s. 3d., the gold *mohur* was worth 31s. 6d. (See Appendix.)

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he wished to pass his for $14\frac{1}{2}$, or at the least for $14\frac{1}{4}$, this almost ended the transaction, as I made him understand that upon so large a sum I could not consent to lose a quarter upon every golden rupee. Finally, in order to satisfy him, I was obliged to take them at $14\frac{1}{8}$ rupees of silver; for this Prince, who was otherwise magnificent and generous, showed himself a stern economist in matters of purchase.[1]

During my residence at AHMADÁBÁD he sent me every day, to the house of the Dutch where I lodged, four silver dishes from his table containing *pillau* and choice meats, and one day when the King sent him ten or twelve men bearing apples, which had been received from PERSIA by way of KANDAHÁR, he presented me with two dishes of them, which would have been worth at AHMADÁBÁD, on account of their scarcity, 300 or 400 rupees. I gave a part of these fine fruits to the Dutch and to the ladies, and we amused ourselves well during my sojourn there. Moreover, SHÁISTÁ KHÁN gave me a *khil'at*[2] complete, with sword and *khanjar*;[3] this was worth more than 1000 rupees; and desiring to make me a further present of a horse, he asked me what kind I wished for. I replied that since he was pleased to give me my choice, I preferred a fresh and lively horse rather than an aged one. He gave me one from his stud, which I mounted forthwith and took to the house of the Dutch, but not without difficulty, for it only went by jumps, and was so fiery, that on my allowing a young Dutchman to

[1] This transaction has already been described, with considerable difference in the details, on pp. 18 *et seq.*

[2] Khil'at (see pp. 20, 98, etc.)

[3] *Khanjar*, *i.e.* dagger (see p. 100, and Book III, chap. xxiv).

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mount it, he, who thought he could ride it better than I, found himself promptly out of the saddle, being unable to manage the horse. Having communicated to SHÁISTÁ KHÁN that an older one would be more suitable for me, he ordered his master of the horse to give me one which, although it had belonged to his father, was still fit for service, and had cost formerly more than 3000 *écus*.[1] As I did not require it for my journeys I sold it for 400 rupees to a Frenchman, whom I was at the same time able to place in the service of this Prince, where he might have saved much money if he had not squandered it in debauchery.

From AHMADÁBÁD I returned to SURAT, and from SURAT I travelled[2] to GOLCONDA, and from thence to the mine to make my purchase of diamonds. On returning to SURAT I arranged to go to PERSIA, but experienced great difficulties, which were followed by a voyage where I was exposed to dangers which I might have foreseen, and which I did little to avoid, never having feared dangers which travellers have to run both on sea and land, when it has been actually necessary for me to proceed forward.

[1] £675. See p. 21 for another account of this transaction, which, as there pointed out in the footnote, varies the details.

[2] This was on the 6th March 1653. (See Introduction.)

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CHAPTER XX

Return from SURAT *to* HORMUZ, *and how the author found himself engaged in a very rough and dangerous naval combat, from which he escaped without accident.*

WHILE on my return to SURAT from my journey to the diamond mine, I learned that war had been declared between the English and Dutch, and that the latter would not send any more vessels to PERSIA. The English also said the same, because they had sent four which they expected to return every hour, and consequently I found the sea closed as regards my passage to HORMUZ. I might have taken the land journey by AGRA and KANDAHÁR; but the road was very long, and it was impossible, or at the least very difficult, to travel by it on account of the KANDAHÁR war, and because the armies of PERSIA and INDIA were in the field. While afraid that I should be obliged to spend a long time in a place where I had no occupation, there arrived at SURAT on the 2d of January[1] five large Dutch vessels from BATAVIA; this rejoiced me exceedingly, being certain to obtain all I wanted from the Dutch Commander, who was a friend of mine. I may say, in passing, that in all my journeys there has never been one of these commanders (it is thus they call the chiefs of these settlements) who has not manifested

[1] This was in the year 1654.

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consideration for me, and who has not been pleased to have an opportunity of showing me kindness. I have also sought on all occasions to serve them, and especially when I went to the mine, by purchasing diamonds for them with private money of which they did not wish the Company to know anything, because it is forbidden to them to embark in private trade, and moreover they understood but little about the purchase of precious stones. But although these small services which they asked me to render them had been without profit, that did not save me from being subjected one day, on account of one of them, to some unpleasantness at BATAVIA, from which I did not escape without trouble, as I shall hereafter describe in the sequel of my history.[1] I have also been very careful in all the places where the Dutch have settlements, and where I made any sojourn, to contribute as far as possible to the amusement of their ladies.[2] As I never came from PERSIA to INDIA without bringing good wine and fine fruits, and always had some one with me who understood cooking better than the Dutch in INDIA, and knew how to make good soup and to bake, I entertained them often with collations, where pigeons in pyramids, flavoured with pistachios, were not lacking. All the amusements of the country, which I have sufficiently described, followed these small collations; and the ladies gave me to understand that they were much pleased with these parties, to which I invited them with their husbands.

The Commander of SURAT being, as I have

[1] See Book III, chap. xxii.

[2] One might have supposed that this received its own reward at the time.

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said, a friend of mine, offered me a passage upon whichever I pleased of the five vessels which had arrived from BATAVIA; but, on the other hand, pointed out the risk which I ran of meeting the English, and of being engaged, in that event, in a combat, which would be unavoidable. My friends also begged me to consider the great danger to which I exposed myself. But all that they could say to me was of no avail, and rather than lose the time uselessly at SURAT, where I had nothing to do, I was firmly resolved to embark. As the Dutch vessels were men-of-war rather than merchant craft, the Commander ordered three to be unloaded as quickly as possible, and sent them in advance with instructions to seek the four English vessels which he knew ought to be on their return from PERSIA, laden with goods, and consequently less in a condition to fight than vessels which were not. The two others followed three or four days afterwards, this interval being required by them in order to ship supplies for all five.

I embarked in one of these two vessels which left last, and having set sail on the 8th of January,[1] we arrived on the 12th before DIU,[2] where we found the three other vessels which had preceded us. Immediately a council of war was held to consider what direction we should take to meet the English, whom we believed had already reached PERSIA; but they had gone but a short distance, only having left DIU two days before the arrival of the three first Dutch vessels. It was settled that we should go to SINDI,[3] and that, with anchors up, each vessel approaching DIU as near as it could, should fire off all its cannon at

[1] This was in 1654. (See Introduction.) [2] Diu (see p. 6).
[3] Scimdi in the original for Sindi (see p. 10).

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the town. As soon as the inhabitants perceived that we were sailing towards the town they took flight, only daring to fire two shots at us. After the discharge of all the guns, we set our course for SINDI, where we arrived on the 20th of the same month, and at once a boat was sent on shore, the English and Dutch each having a house there. Our Admiral was informed that they daily expected the four English vessels, which were to embark about 200 bales of goods then ready on the seashore; and upon these tidings it was resolved to remain there at anchor till the 10th of February; but that, if by that time they did not appear, we should put to sea again and seek for them in PERSIA.

On the 2d of February, at break of day, we perceived some sails, but owing to their great distance were unable to make them out, and still less to go to meet them, the wind being contrary. Some believed at first that they were fishing-boats, but little by little, according as they approached, having the wind astern, we recognised that they were the English vessels, which advanced to attack us, upon the information which they had received, as we subsequently learned, from some fishermen that the Dutch vessels were simple frigates, of which they expected to make an easy capture. It is true that they had not yet seen such small Dutch vessels, and having been built expressly for fighting, they had not high bulwarks, and so appeared small externally, but were otherwise of great strength. Our "Admiral" had forty-eight pieces of cannon, and in case of necessity was able to accommodate up to sixty, and had more than 120 men. Towards nine o'clock—the English, who advanced with all sails set, not being far off—in order not to lose time in raising

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the anchors, we cut cables and each one set himself to do his duty. But the wind, as I have said, being directly contrary, we were unable to approach them. As they had thereby all the advantage on their side with the aid of the wind, they came in good order, and always stem on; and their Admiral and Vice-Admiral[1] came at length so close to the side of the Dutch Admiral that the English Admiral was caught by an anchor on the side of our Admiral. Not to conceal the fact, our Admiral showed but little courage in this encounter, for instead of boarding then and there, the occasion being so favourable, he cut the cable in order to free his vessel. All the ports were so well closed that from outside one could not say how many cannon there were. But after the English had made their first discharge, and our Admiral had returned it, which was much more effective, the English, seeing the number of his guns and the crowd which appeared on the deck, began to lose heart, and the wind proving favourable, drew off. However, the English Vice-Admiral having reloaded his guns, came skilfully to the vessel on which I was. Our Captain reserved his fire until we were nearly alongside one another, notwithstanding the loss of ten men which we had sustained. When we were not more than a pistol-shot off we let him have a discharge from all our guns, which broke his foremast. The two vessels coming in contact, our Captain was the first to board, and, accompanied by many brave men with hatchets, they cut all the ropes. While the two vessels were close to one another the sub-pilot and I fired a cannon-shot so effectively into

[1] These terms are used both for the ships themselves and their commanders.

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the cabin of the English Captain that the bullet set fire to some powder cartridges which had been placed there. This unforeseen fire caused the English to fear that the conflagration increasing would envelop all their vessel; and our Captain, who feared the same thing, commanded his crew to return into our vessel, where he ordered the English to follow ten by ten, and then immediately drew off. The courage of the crew being revived, they found means to put out the fire of the English vessel, in which ten or twelve of our sailors were left; but our Captain, who had acquired much glory in this action, died at the end of two or three days of his wounds.

In the meantime another of our vessels vigorously attacked a large English ship of about thirty guns which held aloof, and had already damaged it badly, when the vessel upon which I was went to assist in sending it to the bottom, by giving it a whole broadside, which completely disabled it from further defence. The English Captain seeing himself lost, immediately ran up the white flag and asked for quarter, which was granted him. The carpenters did their best to close up the holes made by the cannon, the vessel having been pierced in many places; but seeing themselves deserted by the sailors, who rather than aid them preferred to drink the SHIRAZ wine, of which they had a quantity in the bottom of the hold before being taken by the Dutch, they left their work and went to drink with them. The Dutch having descended into their boats to the number of thirty or forty, in order to take possession of the English vessel, and not seeing any one on deck, went below, where they found the sailors, who, not thinking of their death, which was

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closer than they supposed, drank one another's health. The Dutch being no wiser, and not knowing the condition of the vessel, which was on the point of foundering, began to drink with them, and some moments afterwards the vessel went to the bottom. All perished miserably together, both the victors and the vanquished, without any one being saved except the English Captain and two French Capuchins, who, seizing the opportunity while these brutes made themselves drunk, descended into a boat, and cutting the rope by which it was attached to the vessel, came to the one in which I was, where they were well received. Our master pilot then took charge, the Captain, as I have said, being badly wounded, and he at once sent these persons to the Admiral, to dispose of them as might seem good to him. The following day the Admiral sent to invite me to his vessel, where all the Captains had to assemble to render their thanks to God for the victory which they had achieved over their enemies. We afterwards dined with him, and the Capuchin Fathers being of the company, he told me that, as they were of my country, they might, if they preferred it, go to the vessel in which I was, and he would issue orders that they should be well treated; this was done, and I took them with me the same evening, giving them, as far as I was able, whatever was necessary for their comfort.

The vessels which go from PERSIA to INDIA are generally laden with wine and money, and that which went to the bottom carried more than the others; this was the reason why it held aloof, not joining in the fray. This was a great loss, which might have been avoided if the Dutch had had more courage and

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more prevision; and the English Admiral, seeing the misfortune which had happened to one of his vessels, joined his own with another, and they took flight together. For indeed, to say the truth, the want of enterprise on the part of the Dutch Admiral and the other Captains caused them to miss the certain capture of these fugitives; and it would have been an easy victory if they had known how to profit by their opportunities.

This combat was not finished without my life having been in jeopardy, more particularly from a cannon-shot which struck two Dutchmen who were close to me, and a splinter of the vessel cut open the head of another and carried away a part of my coat, so that I was covered with the blood of these Dutchmen who were slain at my side. The combat being over, we returned to the anchorage at SINDI; but a strong wind having arisen, and the sea being very high, we were obliged to go to moorings 6 leagues higher on the eastern coast, where we remained till the 20th of the same month[1]; we occupied this time in the care of the sick, and many of the English died of their wounds there. At length having reached the anchorage at SINDI, both in order to obtain water and some stores, and also for the purpose of raising the anchors which we had left behind, we remained there till the 28th, and after a pleasant cruise landed at GOMBROON on the 7th of March.

My first cares when I was out of the vessel were to return thanks to God for having delivered me from this danger, and from many others which I had undergone in my previous travels, and I still offer Him my daily thanksgivings for the same.

[1] February 1654.

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BOOK II

Historical and Political description of the Empire of the GREAT MOGUL.

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CHAPTER I

Account of the last wars in HINDUSTAN, *in which the present condition of the Empire and of the Court of the* MOGULS *are set forth.*

I WRITE this history[1] without any commentary, and without describing how I became aware that these things happened during the sojourn which I made in the country.[2] I leave it to the reader, according to his pleasure, to make his own moral and political reflections. It is sufficient for me to give a faithful picture of the powerful Empire of the MOGULS, in accordance with the sketch of it which I have taken on the spot, not wishing to increase this volume by any useless discussion.

This great and vast Empire, which constitutes the larger part of HINDUSTAN,[3] and extends from the mountains upon this side of the river INDUS to

[1] With reference to the historical chapters contained in this Book, there can be no attempt to correct or criticise all the author's statements, which are in conflict with those by other authorities.

[2] There is so much similarity between this account and that by Bernier in his *Histoire de la dernier revolution des États du Grand Mogul*, Paris, 1670, that it cannot but be supposed that that author supplied Tavernier with information, either when they were fellow-travellers or after Bernier had published his *History*.

[3] Here Hindustan, or rather *Indostan*, is used in the European sense as synonymous with India, not as the natives of India use it, *i.e.* restricted to the valley of the Ganges.

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the other side of the GANGES, touches on the east the Kingdoms of ARAKAN, TIPPERAH, and ASSAM[1]; on the west PERSIA and TARTARY OF THE USBEGS; on the south the Kingdoms of GOLCONDA and BIJAPUR; and on the north it reaches to the CAUCASUS, having on the north-east the Kingdom of BHUTÁN, from whence comes musk, and to the north-west the country of CHEGATHAY,[2] or the USBEGS.

Many persons having written about INDIA itself, and of the genius of the Indians, I pass to subjects of more importance, but less well known, and I shall speak first of the family of the Kings of INDIA, commonly known as the MOGULS, that is to say whites, because the men who formerly conquered the country were white, the native born Indians being brown or olive-coloured.

AURANGZEB, who reigns at present, is the eleventh in direct line of the descendants of the great TEMURLENG, commonly called TAMERLANE, who by the extent and renown of his conquests from CHINA to POLAND surpassed the glory of the most renowned captains of previous ages.

His successors succeeded in conquering the whole of INDIA, between the two rivers,[3] thereby destroying many Kings, and AURANGZEB has to-day under his authority the Kingdoms of GUJARÁT, DECCAN, DELHI,

[1] Aracan, Tipra, and Assen in the original.

[2] Cathay originally meant Northern China; subsequently, in the sixteenth century, it came to be regarded as a separate country north of China (see *Anglo-Indian Glossary*). In the time of Kublai Khan "the Chagatai Khanate, or Middle Empire of the Tartars, with its capital at Almalik, included the modern Dsungaria, part of Chinese Turkestan, Transoxiana, and Afghanistan" (*Cathay and the way thither*, by Colonel Yule, Introduction, p. cxxi.)

[3] *I.e.* the Indus and Ganges.

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MULTAN, LAHORE, KASHMIR, BENGAL, and many other countries, without speaking of many *Rajas*, or Kinglets, who are his vassals, and pay him tribute. The following is the succession of these Kings from TAMERLANE to AURANGZEB, who reigns at present:—

I. TEMUR-LENG,[1] *i.e.* "the cripple," because he had one leg shorter than the other, is buried at SAMARCAND in the country of CHEGATHAY or TARTARY of the USBEGS; it is also the place where he was born.

II. MIRAN-SHÁH,[2] son of TEMUR-LENG.

III. SULTAN MUHAMMAD, son of MIRAN SHÁH.

IV. SULTAN ABU SAYYID MIRZA,[3] son of MUHAMMAD.

V. UMR SHEKH MIRZA,[4] son of SULTAN ABU SAYYID.

VI. SULTAN BÁBAR,[5] *i.e.* "the brave Prince," son of UMR SHEKH, and the first of the MOGULS who made himself all powerful in INDIA. He died in the year 1532.

VII. HUMÁYUN, which means "happy," son of SULTAN BÁBAR, died in the year 1552.[6]

VIII. ABDUL FATEH JALAL-UD-DIN MUHAMMAD, commonly called AKBAR, that is to say "the mighty," son of HUMÁYUN, reigned fifty-four years, and died A.H. 1014, A.D. 1605.

IX. SULTAN SALIM, otherwise called JAHÁNGIR PADISHAH, *i.e.* Conqueror of the World, succeeded AKBAR, his father, and died in the year 1627. He

[1] Commonly called Tamerlane, but Tavernier's rendering is closer to the real name, viz. Taimur-*lang*, *i.e.* Taimur the lame.

[2] Miram Cha in the original.

[3] Abousaid in the original.

[4] Hameth Schek in the original.

[5] Mirza Zahir-ud-din Muhammad Bábar, born 15th February 1483. He invaded India in the winter of 1525, and died in 1530, not 1532 as above stated.

[6] Humáyan died in 1556.

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had four sons, the first named SULTAN KHUSRU, the second SULTAN KHURRAM, the third SULTAN PARWEZ, fourth SHÁH DÁNIÁL.

X. SULTAN KHURRAM, the second of the four sons, succeeded JAHÁNGIR, his father, and was recognised as sovereign by the nobles of the Kingdom in the fortress of AGRA, under the name of SULTAN SHÁH BEDIN MUHAMMAD, but he desired to be called SHÁH-JAHÁN, *i.e.* King of the World.

XI. AURANGZEB, *i.e.* the Ornament of the Throne, is the King who reigns at present.

The accompanying figure[1] shows the form of the coins which the Kings cause to be thrown to the people when they ascend the throne. They bear the arms or seals of the Kings whom I have just named. The largest seal, in the middle, is that of SHÁH-JAHÁN, the tenth King, for AURANGZEB, since he became King, has not had any of these pieces of bounty coined—these coins are nearly all of silver, only a small number being of gold.

The GREAT MOGUL is certainly the most powerful and the richest monarch of ASIA; all the Kingdoms which he possesses constitute his domain, he being absolute master of all the country, of which he receives the whole revenue. In the territories of this Prince, the nobles are but Royal Receivers, who render account of the revenues to the Governors of Provinces, and they to the Treasurers General and Ministers of Finance, so that this grand King of INDIA, whose territories are so rich, fertile, and populous, has no power near him equal to his own.

[1] Tavernier's beautifully executed plate of these tokens is not reproduced.

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CHAPTER II

Concerning the sickness and supposed death of SHÁH JAHÁN, *King of* INDIA, *and the rebellion of the Princes, his sons.*

THE revolutions which took place in the Empire of the GREAT MOGUL on account of the supposed death of SHÁH JAHÁN are full of so many important and memorable incidents, that they deserve to be known throughout the whole world. This great monarch reigned more than forty years, less as a King over his subjects than as a father of a family over his house and children; to such an extent was this the case that, during his reign, the police was so strict in all things, and particularly with reference to the safety of the roads, that there was never any necessity for executing a man for having committed theft. In his old age he committed an indiscretion; and, moreover, used some drugs of so stringent a character that they brought on a malady which nearly brought him to the grave. This necessitated his shutting himself up for two or three months in his harem with his women, and during that time he showed himself to his people but rarely, and at long intervals; this caused them to believe that he was dead. For custom requires these Kings to show themselves in public three times every week, or, at the very least, every fifteen days.

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SHÁH JAHÁN had six children, four sons and two daughters. The eldest of the sons was called DÁRÁ SHÁH; the second SULTAN SHUJÁ; the third AURANGZEB, who reigns at present; and the last MURÁD BAKSH. The eldest of the two daughters was called BEGUM SAHIB, and the younger ROUSHENÁRÁ BEGUM.[1] All these names, in the language of the country, mean titles of honour, as the wise, the brave, the accomplished, etc.; and we practise nearly the same in Europe by the (use of the) surnames which we give to our Princes, of just, bold, and affable, with this difference only, that these surnames are not given at birth, but after certain proof has been shown (of the possession) of the virtues which merit that their memories should pass to posterity under such fine names. SHÁH JAHÁN loved his four sons equally well, and had established them as Governors or Viceroys of four of his most considerable Provinces, or, if you prefer it, his four principal Kingdoms. DÁRÁ SHÁH, the eldest, remained near the person of the King in the Kingdom of DELHI, and had the Government of SINDI,[2] where he placed a lieutenant in his absence; SULTAN SHUJÁ had for his district the Kingdom of BENGAL; AURANGZEB was sent to the Kingdom of DECCAN; and MURÁD BAKSH to that of GUJARÁT. But much as SHÁH JAHÁN sought to give equal contentment to his four sons, their ambition was not satisfied by this allotment, and it overthrew all the projects that the good father had made to preserve peace between his children.

SHÁH JAHÁN being then sick, and having retired into the women's quarter without showing himself for many

[1] Called Rauchenara Begum in the original.

[2] Sind or Scind (see p. 10 *n.*)

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days, the rumour spread that he was dead, and that DÁRÁ SHÁH concealed his death in order to arrange his affairs and secure for himself the whole of the Empire. It is certain that the King, believing that he was about to die and was near his last hour, ordered DÁRÁ SHÁH to assemble all the *Omrahs*[1] or nobles of the Kingdom, and seat himself on the throne, which belonged to him, being the eldest of all the brothers. He also told him that if God prolonged his life for some days he desired to see him, before he died, in the peaceable possession of his Empire; and this intention which he had for his eldest son was especially right, because he had observed for some time that the three other Princes manifested much less respect and affection for their father than DÁRÁ SHÁH had. At this conversation which the King held with his son, DÁRÁ SHÁH, who honoured him extremely and loved him tenderly, replied that he prayed to God for the life of his majesty, which he hoped would be long, and that while God preserved it he would never dream of mounting the throne, but would consider himself always happy in being his subject. Indeed, this Prince did not absent himself for a moment from the presence of his father, in order to be at hand to attend upon him during his sickness; and, wishing to be present at all times, he slept at night close to the King's bed on a carpet spread on the floor.

However, upon the false report of the death of SHÁH JAHÁN, his three other sons straightway stirred themselves, and each laid claim to their father's throne. MURÁD BAKSH, the youngest, who held the Government of the Province of GUJARÁT, immediately

[1] See p. 98.

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sent troops to lay siege to SURAT, the largest and most frequented port in all INDIA. The city, which was without protection, made no resistance, for it has only bad walls, which are open in many places; but the citadel, where the treasure was stored, was defended vigorously; and this young, ambitious Prince, who had need of money, used all his powers to become master of it. SHÁHBÁSH KHÁN,[1] one of his eunuchs, was General of his army, an industrious and energetic man, who conducted the siege with all the skill of an old commander.

Finding that he was unable to carry the place by main force, he had two mines made by an European, who succeeded completely, and having fired the first on the 29th of December 1659, it brought down a large portion of the walls, which filled the moat, and caused great alarm to the besieged. But they quickly plucked up courage, and, although they were few in number, defended themselves bravely for the space of more than forty days, during which time they did much injury to the army of MURÁD BAKSH, and slew many of his soldiers. SHÁHBÁSH KHÁN, irritated by this vigorous resistance, caused search to be made for the women and children, and also the relatives and friends of the artillerymen in the fortress, in order to place them in front of his soldiers during the attacks which he made; and he also sent one of the brothers of the Governor of the place to parley with him, and to make an advantageous offer to him, if he would deliver it up into his hands. But the Governor, a good servant of the King, not having received any certain tidings of his death, replied that he recognised

[1] Chabas Kan in the original.

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no other master than SHÁH JAHÁN, who had confided the place to him, which he would not relinquish but to the King himself, or to whoever he pleased to order; that he honoured MURÁD BAKSH as Prince and son of the King his master, but not so much so as to hand the place over to him without receiving an express order to do so from the King.

The eunuch seeing the resolution of the Governor, made the most stringent threats to the besieged, swearing that he would kill all their relatives, their women, and their children, if they did not deliver themselves up to him on the following day. But the consideration of blood was without effect upon the besieged, and would not have had any; and it was only the breach, which they could not defend on account of the smallness of their numbers, and the fear of the second mine, that at length obliged the Governor to give himself up with all the honourable conditions which he was able to demand; these were faithfully kept by SHÁHBÁSH KHÁN, who seized the treasure, which he carried off to AHMADÁBÁD, where MURÁD BAKSH was occupied in oppressing the people in order to raise money.

The news of the capture of SURAT having been conveyed to this Prince, he immediately had a throne prepared, and being seated upon it on the day appointed for the ceremony, proclaimed himself to be King, not only of GUJARÁT, but of all the Empire of SHÁH JAHÁN, his father. At the same time he had money coined, and he despatched new Governors to all the towns. But as his throne is badly founded it will fall to the ground quickly; and this Prince, the youngest of all, for having wished to usurp a sceptre which did not belong to him, will be confined in a close prison.

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Prince DÁRÁ SHÁH was anxious to succour SURAT, but it was impossible for him (to do so), for not only was he occupied in assisting the King, his father, during his sickness, but he had to watch his second brother, SULTAN SHUJÁ, who was much more powerful than MURÁD BAKSH, and caused him far more trouble. He was already advanced into the Kingdom of LAHORE,[1] and had entirely subjected that of BENGAL. All that DÁRÁ SHÁH was able to do was to despatch with speed his eldest son, SULIMAN SHEKO,[2] with a powerful army against SULTAN SHUJÁ. In short, this young Prince defied his uncle, and having driven him into the Province of BENGAL, the frontiers of which he secured by strong garrisons, returned to DÁRÁ SHÁH his father. In the meantime MURÁD BAKSH, recognised as King in the Kingdom of GUJARÁT, carried all his thoughts towards the Empire of INDIA, to the destruction of his brothers, and to the establishment of his throne either in AGRA or JAHÁNÁBÁD.

Meanwhile, AURANGZEB, as ambitious and more cunning than his brothers, let them expend their first fire, and concealed his designs from them, which he will spring upon them, however, before long to their great injury. He feigned to have no pretension to the Empire, as though he had renounced the world, and led the life of a *Dervish*, or solitary devotee.[3] In order to play this part with greater success he communicated

[1] Lahore is here a mistake for Behar. He could not have reached Lahore, and if he had, it would not have served his purpose. (See p. 336.)

[2] Soliman Cheko in the original. He was accompanied by Raja Jái Singh. The engagement took place at Benares.

[3] As will be seen from the context, there are many striking points of resemblance between the conduct of Aurangzeb and that of Richard III of England.

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to his younger brother, MURÁD BAKSH, that he perceived that he was desirous of reigning, and wished to aid him in his object, and that the throne being his desert on account of his bravery, he would aid him with his armies and money to vanquish DÁRÁ SHÁH, who was an obstacle in the way. This young Prince, having little judgment, and being blinded by the prospect of his good fortune, was only too ready to believe AURANGZEB, and having joined forces with him,[1] agreed to advance with him on AGRA to take possession of it. DÁRÁ SHÁH came to meet them, and the battle was commenced, as unfortunately for him as it was auspiciously for the two brothers. This Prince, trusting too much to the principal officers in his army, contrary to the advice of the General who commanded, who was his Prime Minister, and was faithful to him, believed himself to be able to secure a victory by attacking his brothers first, without giving them time to rest.[2] The first shock was rough and bloody, and MURÁD BAKSH, full of fire and courage, fighting like a lion, received five arrows in his body, and the elephant upon which he was mounted was covered with them. Victory tending to the side of DÁRÁ SHÁH, AURANGZEB retired; but quickly turned his face when he saw coming to his aid the traitors in DÁRÁ SHÁH's army, who had basely abandoned him after he had lost his best officers and their General. Immediately AURANGZEB took courage, and returning to the combat with DÁRÁ SHÁH, the latter Prince, seeing that

[1] This junction took place near Ujain in Málwá, whither Aurangzeb had marched from Burhánpur.

[2] The forces engaged, according to Bernier, were 100,000 horse, 20,000 foot, and 80 pieces of artillery on Dárá's side, against 30,000 to 35,000 horse on that of Aurangzeb and Murád.

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he was betrayed, and had no longer anything to hope from the few people remaining with him, immediately beat his retreat, and returned to AGRA, where the King his father was, who had already begun to amend. He advised his son to withdraw into the fortress at DELHI, and carry with him the treasure which was in AGRA;[1] this he did without loss of time, being accompanied by his most faithful attendants. Thus the victory was complete on the side of AURANGZEB and MURÁD BAKSH, who before the end of the battle, being weakened by the loss of blood, had retired to his tent to have his wounds dressed. It was easy for AURANGZEB to gain over these traitors, not only on account of the enormous treasure which he had acquired, but because the Indians are ever inconstant and ungrateful. Moreover, the chiefs are generally fugitives from PERSIA, people of no birth and of little heart, who attach themselves to those who give most.

SHÁISTÁ KHÁN, son of ASAF KHÁN,[2] who had betrayed the King BOLÁKI, as I shall relate, in order to obtain the throne for SHÁH JAHÁN, his brother-in-law; SHÁISTÁ KHÁN, I say, uncle of these four Princes whose mother was his own sister, ranged himself on AURANGZEB'S side, with the greater number of the principal officers of DÁRÁ SHÁH and of MURÁD BAKSH, who abandoned their masters. MURÁD BAKSH at last began to realise the mistake he had made in having trusted AURÂNGZEB, who, seeing himself favoured by fortune,

[1] According to Bernier, Sháh Jahán's treasure never amounted to 6 crores of rupees, which, at the rate of 2s. 3d., would be about £6,750,000. This was exclusive of the precious stones and throne. (*Hist. of the late Revolution*, vol. ii, p. 63.)

[2] Asaf Khan was the brother of the famous Núr Jahán, wife of Jahángir.

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lost no time in carrying out his plans. MURÁD BAKSH, who with reason entertained doubts as to his brother, sent to him to demand half the treasure which had been seized, in order that he might retire into GUJARÁT, and AURANGZEB, by way of reply, assured him that he desired to aid him in ascending the throne, and that on that account he wished to consult with him; MURÁD BAKSH, finding his wounds somewhat better, went to see AURANGZEB his brother, who received him well and praised his courage, which merited, he said, the first Empire in the world.

The young Prince allowed himself to be charmed by these soft words; but his eunuch, SHÁHBÁSH KHÁN, who had acquired for him the best part of the Kingdom of GUJARÁT, tried to excite his distrust, and make him realise the trap which had been set for him. But when MURÁD BAKSH wished to profit by the advice of his eunuch it was then too late, as AURANGZEB had already taken his measures to ruin him. He invited MURÁD BAKSH to a feast, and the more he excused himself the more he was pressed to come. The young Prince, unable to refuse any longer, resolved to go so that he might conceal his mistrust, although fearing that the day was to be the last of his life, and that some deadly poison had been prepared for him. He was mistaken, however, for AURANGZEB did not then aim at his life, contenting himself with securing his person; so, in place of aiding him to ascend the throne, as he promised, he sent him under safe custody to the fortress of GWALIOR, to give him time to be cured of his wounds, and to take his own in order to accomplish his designs.

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CHAPTER III

Concerning SHÁH JAHÁN'S *prison, and how he was punished by* AURANGZEB, *his third son, for the injustice he had done to* PRINCE BOLÁKI,[1] *his nephew, grandson of* JAHÁNGIR, *to whom, since he was the son of the eldest son, the Empire of the* MOGULS *belonged.*

JAHÁNGIR, King of INDIA, son of AKBAR, and grandson of HUMÁYUN, enjoyed a very peaceable reign for the space of twenty-three years, being equally beloved by his subjects and his neighbours. But his life was too long to suit the ambition of two of his sons, already advanced in years. The eldest[2] raised a powerful army at LAHORE, with the object of surprising his father JAHÁNGIR, and seating himself by violence on the throne. The King, becoming aware of the insolence of his son, resolved to chastise him, and going to meet him with a large army, took him prisoner, with many of the chief nobles who followed him. But JAHÁNGIR, being a generous Prince, who dearly loved his son, although he had him in his power was unwilling to cause him the death which he deserved; and contented himself with destroying his sight, by ordering a hot iron to be passed over his

[1] Bolaki, also called Dawár Baksh, son of Khusru.

[2] Namely, Khusru.

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eyes[1] in the manner which, as I have described, is followed in PERSIA. The King resolved ever after to keep this blind son about his person, with the intention that his eldest son, SULTAN BOLÁKI, should some day reign; this Prince had already several other sons, all being under age. But SULTAN KHURRAM,[2] who afterwards took the name of SHÁH JAHÁN, thinking that, as second son of JAHÁNGIR, he should be preferred to his nephew, resolved to use every effort to keep him from the throne, and to seat himself upon it, without waiting for the death of the King. He dissimulated, however, keeping his real purpose concealed, and appeared at first altogether submissive to the will of his father, who always kept the children of his eldest son beside him. It was by this submission that SHÁH JAHÁN more easily arrived at the attainment of his ends; and having in this manner gained the goodwill of his father, obtained permission from him to take with him the blind Prince his elder brother to his Government in the Kingdom of DECCAN. He represented to the King that it was advisable to remove from before his eyes an object which had become distressing to him, and that this Prince, being deprived of his sight, would not in the future be other than a charge and trouble to him, and would pass the rest of his life with greater comfort in the DECCAN. The King, not penetrating the designs of KHURRAM, consented

[1] Chardin relates how it came to pass, in the reign of Shah Abbás II, that the custom of destroying the sight of Princes by means of a red-hot blade of copper passed over the eyes was replaced by the actual removal of the eyeballs themselves, in consequence of some of the Princes who had been operated on having been found to possess partial sight. (*Voyages*, Amsterdam Ed., 1711, vol. vi, p. 27.)

[2] Courum in the original.

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without difficulty to what he asked, and as soon as he had this poor Prince in his power he knew how to rid himself of him by the most secret means, and used the most plausible pretexts possible, in order to conceal his crime from the view of men, not considering that he was unable to conceal it from the eyes of God, who did not leave this action unpunished, as we shall shortly see.[1]

After the death of this blind Prince, SULTAN KHURRAM caused himself to be called SHÁH JAHÁN, *i.e.* King of the World, and in order to uphold the title raised an army to finish the task which his brother had begun, namely the dethronement of his father JAHÁNGIR and the taking possession of the Empire. The King, being much irritated by the death of his son and the outrage against his own person, sent considerable forces to chastise KHURRAM for so criminal an enterprise, and this rebel Prince, feeling himself too weak to resist them, quitted the Kingdom of DECCAN, wandering with some vagabonds who followed him, sometimes in one place, sometimes in another, until he arrived in BENGAL, where he raised an army in order to give battle to the King. Having passed the GANGES, he directed his steps towards the Kingdom of LAHORE,[2] and the King in person confronted him with a more numerous and stronger army than his. But JAHÁNGIR, being old and distressed by the troubles which had been caused by his two sons, died on the

[1] Elphinstone throws some doubt upon this charge of murder against Sháh Jahán. (*History of India*, vol. ii, p. 368.)

[2] As on p. 330, Lahore is here also a mistake for Behar. The only opposition Sháh Jahán met with in Bengal was from the Governor of Rajmahal, whom he defeated in a pitched battle in 1624. (See Elphinstone's *India*, vol. ii, p. 332.)

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road,[1] and left SHÁH JAHÁN free to pursue his designs. However, before he died this good King had time to commend the care of his grandson, SULTAN BOLÁKI,[2] to ASAF KHÁN, Commander-in-Chief of his armies and Prime Minister of State, who governed the whole Empire. He ordered all his officers to recognise BOLAKI as King and legitimate heir of his Kingdom after his death, declaring SULTAN KHURRAM to be a rebel, and as such incapable of succeeding him on the throne.

Moreover he made ASAF KHÁN swear in particular that he would never suffer BOLÁKI to be killed, however affairs might eventuate; this oath ASAF KHÁN swore upon his thigh, which bound him religiously in so far as that item, but not for his establishment on the throne, where he wished to place SHÁH JAHÁN, to whom he had given in marriage his eldest daughter, mother of the four Princes and the two Princesses to whom I have referred in the preceding chapter.

On the news of the King's death being reported at Court, all appeared to be sorely afflicted, and immediately the nobles of the Kingdom proceeded to give effect to the will by recognising SULTAN BOLÁKI as King, he being still a youth. This Prince had two first cousins[3] who, with the King's consent, had become Christians, and had made public profession of the same. These two young Princes, who were kind-hearted, observed that ASAF KHÁN, father-in-law of SHÁH JAHÁN, and father of SHÁISTÁ KHÁN, of whom I have often spoken, had evil designs against the new

[1] Jahángir died on the 28th October 1627. Tavernier's account is incorrect, as he died on his return journey from Cabul to Lahore (Elphinstone).

[2] Otherwise known as Prince Darwár Baksh.

[3] These were sons of Sháh Dániál.

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King, to whom they speedily gave warning, and this warning cost them their lives and the King the loss of his Kingdom. The young King, who did not yet possess that prudence which can alone be acquired by age, told ASAF KHÁN ingenuously what the two young Christian Princes, his cousins, had said to him in private, and asked him if it was true that he designed to make his uncle, SULTAN KHURRAM, King, as they had assured him. ASAF KHÁN took care not to tell him the truth; on the contrary, he accused those who had made the report of falseness and insolence, and protested that he would be faithful to his King all his life, and that, in order to maintain him on the throne, he would shed his blood to the very last drop. SULTAN BOLÁKI understood this to refer to himself, but ASAF KHÁN, when promising to be faithful to his King, really meant his own son-in-law SHÁH JAHÁN, whom he desired to elevate to the throne—the consideration of affinity prevailing over that of justice. Seeing that his perfidy had been discovered, he averted the punishment which he began to apprehend, and obtaining possession of the two Princes, had them forthwith murdered. As he was all-powerful both in the army and in the Empire, he had already secured, in the interests of SHÁH JAHÁN, the greater number of the officers and nobility of the Court; and the better to conceal his game and to lull the suspicion of the young King, who understood these affairs but imperfectly, he spread the report that SHÁH JAHÁN was dead, and that, having desired to be interred near JAHÁNGIR, his father, his body was to be brought to AGRA. The stratagem was adroitly conducted. ASAF KHÁN himself told the King of this

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pretended death, and assured him that etiquette required that his majesty should go out of AGRA to meet the body, when it came within a league or two, such honour being rightly due to a Prince of the blood of the MOGULS who was the brother of his father, and son of JAHÁNGIR. Accordingly SHÁH JAHÁN approached incognito, and when he was in sight of the army, near AGRA, he got into a bier, where there was sufficient air for respiration. This bier having been carried into a tent, all the principal chiefs, who were in concert with ASAF KHÁN, came as though to do honour to the dead Prince, the young King, on his side, having left AGRA to be present at the meeting. It was then that ASAF KHÁN saw that the time had arrived for the execution of his design; he had the bier opened, and SHÁH JAHÁN raised himself and appeared standing before the eyes of all the army; he was saluted as King by all the generals and other officers, who took their cue, and at the same moment the name of SHÁH JAHÁN as King was passed from mouth to mouth; the proclamation was made public, and the Empire of the MOGULS was assured to him. The young King hearing this news on the road, was so upset by it that he thought of nothing but flight, as he saw himself deserted by almost every one; and SHÁH JAHÁN, not thinking it prudent to pursue him, allowed him to wander for a long time in INDIA as a sort of *Fakir*. But at length, wearied with that kind of life, he took refuge in PERSIA, where he was magnificently received by SHÁH SAFVI,[1] who bestowed upon him a pension worthy of a great Prince. He enjoys it still, and I had an opportunity of conversing with him

[1] Cha Sefi in the original.

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during my travels in PERSIA, and drank and ate with him.[1]

SHÁH JAHÁN having usurped the throne in this way,[2] in order to secure himself and to stifle all the factions which might arise on behalf of the legitimate King, whom he had unjustly despoiled of his Kingdom, by degrees murdered all those who, from having shown affection for his nephew, had made themselves suspects, and the early years of his reign were marked by cruelties which have much tarnished his memory. The end of his reign was in like manner unhappy for him, and as he had unjustly stolen the Empire from the legitimate heir to whom it belonged, so he was, during his lifetime, deprived of it by his own son AURANGZEB, who kept him a prisoner in the fortress of AGRA; and this, in a few words, is how it came to pass.

After DÁRÁ SHÁH had lost the battle against his two brothers AURANGZEB and MURÁD BAKSH, in the plain of SAMONGUIR,[3] and was basely deserted by the principal officers of his army, he retired to the Kingdom of LAHORE with whatever of the royal treasure he had been able to take in the confusion of his affairs. The King, in order to resist the impetuosity of his victorious sons, whose only thoughts were of reigning by depriving him of his throne, and possibly also of his life, shut himself up in the fortress at AGRA so as not to be captured, and to see to what limits his sons would carry their insolence. AURANGZEB having secured the person of MURÁD BAKSH, as I have related

[1] He was seen also, according to Olearius (*Voyages and Travels*, etc., Eng. Ed., p. 190), by the Holstein Ambassadors in 1633, and Dow's statement as to his murder by Asaf Khán is incorrect.

[2] Sháh Jahán ascended the throne on the 4th February of 1628.

[3] Samoghár, one march from Agra.

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in the preceding chapter, entered AGRA and pretended to believe that SHÁH JAHÁN was dead, in order to have an excuse for entering the fortress, which, as he said, one of the *Omrahs* was in possession of. The more AURANGZEB published the report that SHÁH JAHÁN was dead, the more SHÁH JAHÁN strove to make public the fact that he was alive; but at length the King perceiving that he was no longer able to resist AURANGZEB, who had all the power and all the good luck on his side, and as the wells of the AGRA fortress were dried up, he was compelled to provide himself with the river water by a small postern which was the weakest part of the whole place, and which AURANGZEB had already reconnoitred, he therefore sent FAZL KHÁN, the Grand Chamberlain, to assure AURANGZEB that he was alive, so that he should no longer pretend to be ignorant of it. FAZL KHÁN was instructed to tell the Prince that the King, his father, ordered him to return to the Kingdom of DECCAN, the seat of his Government, without causing any more trouble, and that by showing this sign of obedience he would enable him to forget all that had passed. AURANGZEB, being still firm in his resolve, replied to FAZL KHÁN that he was convinced that the King, his father, was dead, and that upon that ground he had fought for the throne, which he believed he deserved equally with his brothers, who naturally had no more right to it than he had. That if the King was alive he had too much respect for him to have the smallest idea of doing anything which would displease him, but in order that he might be convinced that he was not dead he desired to see him, and to kiss his feet, after which he would retire to his own Government, and obey his orders implicitly.

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FAZL KHÁN conveyed this reply to the King, who answered that he was willing to see his son, and sent FAZL KHÁN back to say he would be welcome. But AURANGZEB, more astute than SHÁH JAHÁN, assured FAZL KHÁN that he would not venture into the fortress till the garrison which was in it gave place to his own soldiers. This Prince feared, with good reason too, that if he entered except as master he might be served an evil turn and his person seized, and the King having heard of his resolution, not being able to do any better, consented to all that his son demanded of him. Accordingly the garrison of SHÁH JAHÁN went out of the fortress, and that of AURANGZEB entered under command of SULTAN MUHAMMAD, the eldest of his sons, to whom he gave a command to secure the person of the King his father. However, he postponed the visit from day to day, awaiting an auspicious hour for this interview, and his astrologers not finding one, he withdrew to a country house 2 or 3 leagues distant from AGRA; this displeased the people much, as they awaited with impatience the fortunate hour, which, by the visit of the son to the father, would terminate their disputes.

But AURANGZEB, who had no desire for this interview, on the contrary, took a strange resolution, which was to control his father's personal expenditure, and assume possession of all the treasures which DÁRÁ SHÁH had been unable to carry off on the occasion of his precipitate flight.[1] He also caused BEGUM SÁHIB, his sister, to be confined in the fortress, that she might keep company with the King, whom she dearly loved.[1] And he also took possession of

[1] See p. 344.

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all the wealth which she had received from her father's liberality.

SHÁH JAHÁN, incensed at the insult of being treated in this manner by his own son, made some efforts to escape, and slew some of the guards who dared to oppose him; this caused AURANGZEB to order closer confinement for him. It is a most surprising thing, however, that not one of the servants of this grand King offered to assist him; that all his subjects abandoned him, and that they turned their eyes to the rising sun, recognising no one as King but AURANGZEB—SHÁH JAHÁN, although still living, having passed from their memories. If perchance there were any who felt touched by his misfortunes, fear made them silent, and made them basely abandon a King who had governed them like a father, and with a mildness which is not common with sovereigns. For although he was severe enough to the nobles when they failed to perform their duties, he arranged all things for the comfort of the people, by whom he was much beloved, but who gave no signs of it at this crisis. Thus this great King finished his days sadly in prison, and died in the AGRA fort about the end of the year 1666, during the time of my last journey in INDIA. As during his reign he had commenced building the city of JAHÁNÁBÁD, which was not yet completed, he wished to see it once more before he died. But for this purpose it was necessary to obtain the consent of AURANGZEB, his son, who held him prisoner, and was quite willing to allow him to make the journey, and even to remain at JAHÁNÁBÁD as long as he wished, shut up in the castle, as he was in AGRA, provided that he consented to travel by boat, ascending the river,

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and returning likewise in one of the small painted and ornamented frigates which are on the JUMNA at the palace of JAHÁNÁBÁD. For AURANGZEB was unwilling to permit him to travel by land on his elephant, as he feared lest his father's showing himself to the people might immediately raise a party in his favour, and that placing himself at their head, as people are inconstant, he might find means to remount the throne. SHÁH JAHÁN, perceiving the severity of his son, who wished to hurt him in this way, thought no more of the journey, and the great displeasure he felt at such cruel treatment precipitated his death. As soon as AURANGZEB had news of it he came to AGRA and seized all the jewels of the late King, his father, which he had not touched during his life. BEGUM SÁHIB also had a quantity of precious stones,[1] which he had not taken from her when he placed her in the fortress, being at that time satisfied with securing the gold and silver with which her chests were full. These jewels afforded certain evidence to AURANGZEB'S sense of propriety, as for other reasons the Princess, his sister, had already been suspected of having had improper relations with SHÁH JAHÁN, and he found means to obtain them in a manner which appeared honest and far from criminal, by treating the BEGUM SÁHIB with much honour and attention; but he removed her to JAHÁNÁBÁD,[2] and I saw the elephant pass upon which she was mounted when she left AGRA with the court, as I was entering it on my return from

[1] The delivery of the precious stones by Begum Sáhib to Aurangzeb is described in Book II, chap. vii.

[2] Here Jehanabad is in the original, though elsewhere generally Gehanabat. In the 1713 edition by a misprint it is Jehanabab.

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BENGAL. In a short time after news was spread of the death of this Princess, and all the world believed that it had been hastened by poison. Let us now see what has become of DÁRÁ SHÁH, and what has been the result of the war between the sons of the unfortunate SHÁH JAHÁN.

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CHAPTER IV

Concerning the flight of DÁRÁ SHÁH *to the Kingdoms of* SIND *and* GUJARÁT ; *of his second battle with* AURANGZEB ; *of his capture and death.*

DÁRÁ SHÁH having carried off in haste, on the advice of his father, some of the gold and silver which was in the fortress of AGRA, and having retired to the Kingdom of LAHORE, hoped to be able to place on foot, in a short time, a second army, in order to attack AURANGZEB, his brother. His most faithful servants and friends had always accompanied him in his misfortune, and his eldest son SULIMAN SHEKO was with *Raja* RÚP[1] in the territories of his Kingdom in order to raise troops, having with him five millions of rupees (5,000,000),[2] which amount to seven million five hundred thousand (7,500,000) *livres* of our money, in order to attract soldiers more rapidly. But this large sum made *Raja* RÚP's eyes open, and he seized it for himself by a base and infamous act of treason. SULIMAN SHEKO fearing he would go further and seize his person also, withdrew promptly to the Kingdom

[1] Roup in the original. Raja Rúp Singh, a daughter of whom, although a Hindu, was married to Aurangzeb's son, Mu'azzam, in the year 1661.

[2] £562,500.

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of SRINAGAR, under the protection of *Raja* NAKTI RANI,[1] who, by a still blacker act of treason, delivered him over to AURANGZEB some time afterwards.

DÁRÁ SHÁH, having had notice of the treason of *Raja* RÚP, and seeing all his friends abandoning him to join the side of AURANGZEB, left LAHORE in order to retire into the Kingdom of SIND. Before leaving the fortress he ordered all the gold, silver, and jewels which were in the treasury to be embarked on the river in the care of a strong escort, in order to send them to BUKKUR,[2] which is in the middle of the river INDUS, where he took possession of a fort. He left there, as governor and guardian of his wealth, a eunuch who was faithful to him, and six thousand soldiers, and all the munitions necessary to sustain a siege, after which he went to SIND, where he left many large cannons. He then went into the country of the King of KACHNAGANA,[3] who made him magnificent promises which proved of no effect; next he entered the Kingdom of GUJARÁT, where he was received by the people with great acclamation as the legitimate King and heir of SHÁH JAHÁN. He issued his commands in all the cities, and especially in SURAT, where he established a Governor; but the Governor of the fortress, who had been appointed by MURÁD BAKSH and was a *Raja*, would not submit to DÁRÁ SHÁH.[4] He protested that he would

[1] Sereneguer in the original. In the French edition of 1713, Serenager—for Srinagar, capital of Kashmir. Nakti Rani I have not identified.

[2] Baker in the original, Bukkur or Bakhar. For the history of this island-fortress, which has always been a position of strategical importance, see *Imperial Gazetteer*. It was the principal British arsenal during the Sind and Afghan campaigns.

[3] Cutch (or Kachchh).

[4] As already explained on page 7 the governorship of the fort at Surat was a distinct post from that of the governor of the town.

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not give over charge of the place into the hands of any one except on the express order of MURÁD BAKSH; and as he continued firm in this resolve, he was allowed to remain peaceably in the fortress, without, on his part, causing any trouble to the Governor of the town.

In the meantime, DÁRÁ SHÁH got news at AHMADÁBÁD that JESWANT SINGH,[1] one of the most powerful *Rajas* in all INDIA, had detached himself from AURANGZEB, and wished to join him. He was even invited by this *Raja* to advance with his army, which was not large, and did not exceed 30,000 men when he arrived at AHMADÁBÁD. DÁRÁ SHÁH, confiding in his promise, followed his counsel, and went to AJMIR,[2] the appointed *rendezvous*, where he hoped to find him. But JESWANT SINGH, who had been won by the arguments of the *Raja* JAI SINGH,[3] who was more powerful than he, and was wholly devoted to the interests of AURANGZEB, did not come to AJMIR on the day he had promised, and only got there at the last moment, when it was for the purpose of betraying this poor Prince. The armies of the two brothers being opposed to one another, the combat commenced, and the battle lasted for three days; but during the course of the engagement JESWANT SINGH, with manifest treachery, passed over to the side of AURANGZEB, which being seen by DÁRÁ SHÁH'S soldiers, they lost courage and took to flight. There had been much bloodshed on both sides; SHÁH NAWÁZ KHÁN,[4] father-in-law of AURANGZEB, remained on the field, and there

[1] Jeswant Singh—Jessomseing in the original. He was Raja of Jodhpur in Marwar, and died in 1678. [2] Emir in the original.
[3] Jesseing in the original. [4] Chanavas Kan in the original.

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were on both sides 8000 or 9000 men slain, without counting the wounded, the number of whom was still greater. DÁRÁ SHÁH having no other resources, and fortune having been against him in all his enterprises, in order not to fall into the hands of his enemies, took flight with his wives, some of his children, and his most faithful followers, in a pitiable conveyance. As he approached AHMADÁBÁD, Monsieur BERNIER,[1] a French physician, who was on his way to AGRA to visit the Court of the GREAT MOGUL, and who is well known to all the world as much by his personal merit as by the charming accounts of his travels, was of great assistance to one of the wives of this Prince who was attacked with erysipelas in one leg. DÁRÁ SHÁH, having learnt that an accomplished European physician was at hand, sent immediately for him, and Monsieur BERNIER went to his tent, where he saw this lady and examined into her ailment, for which he gave a remedy and quick relief.[2] This poor Prince being much pleased with Monsieur BERNIER, strongly pressed him to remain in his service, and he might have accepted the offer if DÁRÁ SHÁH had not received news the same night that the Governor whom he had left at AHMADÁBÁD had refused to allow his quarter-master to enter the town, and had declared for AURANGZEB. This compelled DÁRÁ SHÁH to decamp quickly in the darkness of the night, and take the road to SIND, fearing some new treachery, which he could not defend himself from in the unhappy condition in which he found himself.

[1] M. Bernier. See p. 115.

[2] According to Elphinstone she had been wounded. (*Hist. of India*, vol. ii, p. 444.)

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DÁRÁ SHÁH arrived in SIND, intending to pass into PERSIA, where SHÁH ABBÁS II awaited him with a magnificent outfit, being resolved to aid him with men and money. But this Prince being unwilling to entrust himself to the sea, and fearing that its uncertainty would submit him to some new reverse of fortune, believed that by going by land he would secure greater safety to himself and his women and children. However, he deceived himself, for when passing through the country of the PATHANS,[1] on the road to KANDAHÁR, he was again shamefully betrayed by one of the chieftains of the country named JUIN KHÁN, who had been an officer of the King his father, and who, having been condemned to death for his crimes, by the mouth of the King, and sentenced to be thrown under the feet of an elephant, obtained forgiveness through the intercession of DÁRÁ SHÁH, to whom, therefore, he owed his life. To augment his affliction DÁRÁ SHÁH, before reaching the house of JUIN KHÁN, received by a foot messenger the sad intelligence of the death of that one of his wives whom he loved most, and who had accompanied him always during his misfortunes. He learnt that she had died of heat and thirst, not being able to find a drop of water in the country to assuage her thirst.[2] The Prince was so affected by this news that he fell as though he were dead, and when, by the assistance of those who were with him, he came to himself, in the excess of his grief he rent his garments; this is a custom of great antiquity in the East, as DAVID himself rent his at the news of the death of ABSALOM, his son.

[1] Patanes in the original. This was the territory of *Jun* or *Juin* on the eastern frontier of Sind (Elphinstone).

[2] According to Dow he was present at her death.

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This unhappy Prince had always appeared to be unmoved on all the occasions of his evil fortune, but this one grief overwhelmed him, and he refused all the consolation offered by his friends. He clad himself in garments appropriate to his affliction, and in place of a *sesse* or turban wrapped round his head a piece of coarse cloth. It was in this miserable costume that he entered the house of the traitor JUIN KHÁN, where, having laid himself down on a camp-bed to rest, a new subject of grief appeared on his awakening. JUIN KHÁN on attempting to seize SEPEHR SHEKO,[1] the second son of DÁRÁ SHÁH, the young Prince, though but a child, resisted the traitor with courage, and having taken up his bow and arrow laid three men low on the ground. But being alone he was unable to resist the number of traitors, who secured the doors of the house, and did not allow any one of those who might have aided him to enter. DÁRÁ SHÁH, having been awakened by the noise which these cruel satellites made when seizing this little Prince, saw before his eyes his son, whom they brought in with his hands tied behind his back. The unhappy father, unable to doubt any longer the black treason of his host, could not restrain himself from launching these words against the traitor JUIN KHÁN: "*Finish, finish,*" said he, "*ungrateful and infamous wretch that thou art, finish that which thou hast commenced; we are the victims of evil fortune and the unjust passion of* AURANGZEB, *but remember that I do not merit death except for having saved thy life, and remember that a Prince of the royal blood never had his hands tied behind his back.*" JUIN KHÁN being to some extent moved by these words, ordered the little Prince to be

[1] Sepehr Sheko; Sepper Chekour in the original.

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released, and merely placed guards over DÁRÁ SHÁH and his son. At the same time he sent an express to *Raja* JESWANT SINGH and to ABDULLA KHÁN to give them tidings that he had captured DÁRÁ SHÁH and his followers. On receipt of this intelligence they hastened to take part in the spoliation of the Prince, but they could not arrive so quickly but that JUIN KHÁN had had time to seize DÁRÁ SHÁH'S most precious possessions, and he also treated his wives and children with the greatest barbarity. The *Raja* and ABDULLA KHÁN having arrived, they made DÁRÁ SHÁH and his son leave on an elephant, and his wives and children on others; and with this equipage, very different from that with which they had before appeared at JAHÁNÁBÁD, they travelled thither, and entered it on the 9th of September. All the people hastened to witness this spectacle, desiring to see the Prince whom they had wished to have as King; and AURANGZEB ordered him to be taken through the principal streets, and all the bazaars of JAHÁNÁBÁD, so that no one should entertain any doubt as to his capture, and as though he himself were glorified by the treachery he had shown towards his brother, to whom he allotted the fortress of ASSER[1] as a prison. But of all those who crowded to see this Prince, and were not ignorant of the fact that he was really their legitimate King, and even then desired to see him on the throne, there was not one who had the courage to aid him. There were only some generous soldiers who had served the Prince, who, as they had received many benefits, thought themselves bound on this occasion to give him some mark of their acknowledgment.

[1] Asser. Asirgarh, near Burhánpur, in Khándesh.

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Being unable to deliver their legitimate Prince from the hands of those who held him captive, they flung themselves with fury on the traitor JUIN KHÁN, who was indeed delivered from them for the moment, but in a short time afterwards suffered the penalty due to his crime, having been slain while traversing a forest when on his return to his own country.

However, AURANGZEB, being a good politician and extraordinary dissembler, caused it to be noised abroad that he had not ordered the seizure of the person of DÁRÁ SHÁH, but only that he should be persuaded to depart out of the Kingdom. As DÁRÁ had been unwilling to do so, JUIN KHÁN had, without authority, unworthily seized his person, and instead of honouring the royal blood, had shamefully tied the hands of the young Prince, SEPEHR SHEKO, son of DÁRÁ SHÁH, behind his back. That this criminal action, which was an offence against his Majesty, deserved a severe punishment, and that it had in part been avenged by the death of JUIN KHÁN and his accomplices. But this story which AURANGZEB ordered to be spread among the people was only for the purpose of deception; for if he truly had such consideration for the royal blood and any love for his elder brother, he would not at the same time have ordered his head to be cut off, as was immediately done in the following manner. DÁRÁ SHÁH, having left JAHÁNÁBÁD with his guards to go to the place of his imprisonment, when he had reached a pleasant spot where he thought he was to sleep, his tent in which he was to lose his head was prepared. After he had eaten, SÁIF KHÁN,[1] who had been in his service, came to announce to him the order

[1] Seif Kan in the original.

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for his death. DÁRÁ SHÁH, seeing him enter, welcomed him and said that he was rejoiced to see one of his most faithful servants. SÁIF KHÁN replied that it was true that he had formerly been in his service, but that he was now the slave of AURANGZEB, who had commanded him to return with his head. "Am I to die then," said DÁRÁ SHÁH. "It is the order of the King," replied SÁIF KHÁN; "and I am here to carry it out." SEPEHR SHEKO, who was sleeping in an antechamber of the tent, awakened by this conversation, endeavoured to seize some weapons which had been removed from him, and made an effort to aid his father, but was prevented by those who accompanied SÁIF KHÁN. DÁRÁ SHÁH also wished to resist, but perceiving it would be useless, merely asked time for prayer, which was granted. In the meantime SEPEHR SHEKO was drawn aside, and, whilst they amused him, a slave cut off DÁRÁ SHÁH's head; and SÁIF KHÁN took it to AURANGZEB, who thought that by the blood and death of his brother he would establish his throne. After this bloody tragedy the afflicted SEPEHR SHEKO was conveyed to the fortress of GWALIOR to keep company with his uncle, MURÁD BAKSH.[1] As for the wives and daughters of DÁRÁ SHÁH, they were given quarters in the harem of AURANGZEB, who, in order to fix himself firmly on the throne of the MOGULS, now only thought of the destruction of his other brother, SULTAN SHUJÁ, who was in BENGAL—where he was assembling forces in order to come to the release of the King his father, who still lived in the fortress at AGRA, where AURANGZEB kept him a prisoner.

[1] This was in July 1659.

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CHAPTER V

How AURANGZEB *seated himself upon the throne and had himself declared King; and concerning the flight of* SULTAN SHUJÁ.

IT was not difficult for AURANGZEB, after the imprisonment of his father SHÁH JAHÁN and of his brother MURÁD BAKSH, and having cruelly decapitated his eldest brother, to whom by right the Kingdom belonged, to resolve to have himself declared King, especially as fortune favoured it and all the nobles of the Kingdom applauded him. As it is the custom, at this ceremony, to sit upon the throne, not much time was required to prepare it, as SHÁH JAHÁN, before being imprisoned, had completed the throne which the great TAMERLANE had commenced; it is the richest and most superb throne which has ever been seen in the world. But as it was necessary that the *Grand Kázi*[1] or Chief of the Law should proclaim the new King, it was in this direction that AURANGZEB encountered the first obstacle. The *Grand Kázi* openly opposed his design, and said that the law of Muhammad and the law of nature equally prevented him from proclaiming him King during the lifetime of his father; added to which, in order to ascend the throne, he

[1] Cadi in the original.

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had murdered his eldest brother, to whom the Empire belonged after the death of SHÁH JAHÁN, their father. This vigorous resistance of the *Kázi* gave trouble to AURANGZEB, and in order not to appear unjust, he assembled the doctors of the law, to whom he represented that his father was incapable of reigning on account of his great age and the infirmities with which he had been overwhelmed; and as for DÁRÁ SHÁH, his brother, he had put him to death because he was not zealous in obeying the law; that he drank wine, and favoured infidels. These reasons, mingled with menaces, caused his "Council of Conscience" to pronounce that he merited the Empire, and that he ought to be proclaimed King—which, nevertheless, the *Grand Kázi* persistently resisted. There was, in consequence, no other remedy therefore but to depose him from his office as a disturber of the public peace, and elect another zealous for the honour of the law and the good of the Kingdom. This was forthwith done. The person elected by the Council was afterwards confirmed by AURANGZEB, and in recognition for this act of grace, he proclaimed him King on the 20th of October 1660.[1] This proclamation having been made in the Mosque, AURANGZEB seated himself on the throne, where he received the homage of all the nobles of the Kingdom, and there were great rejoicings upon that day in JAHÁNÁBÁD. At the same time orders were sent throughout all the Kingdom to celebrate his coming to the throne.

[1] This date appears to be incorrect. Aurangzeb's accession took place in August 1658, when he was first proclaimed Emperor; but he did not put his name on the coin and was not crowned till the following year. This has caused some confusion in the dates of his reign, but it cannot be said to have commenced later than 1659.

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This was effected with great splendour, and lasted for many days.

AURANGZEB did not consider his throne assured nor his Empire well established so long as SULTAN SHUJÁ, his brother, was engaged in raising a powerful army in BENGAL with the design of setting SHÁH JAHÁN at liberty. He thought that it behoved him to anticipate him, and sent considerable forces against him under the command of SULTAN MUHAMMAD, his eldest son, to whom he gave as lieutenant the MIR JUMLA,[1] one of the greatest captains who had ever migrated from PERSIA to INDIA. His good judgment and courage would have caused him to be revered by posterity if he had only been faithful to the Princes whom he served. But he first betrayed the King of GOLCONDA,[2] with whom he made his fortune, and afterwards SHÁH JAHÁN, under whose protection he maintained it at so high a pitch that there was scarcely another noble in the whole of INDIA more powerful or richer than he was.

Moreover, he was both feared and beloved by the army, and he understood the art of war perfectly as it is carried on in this country. Having then abandoned the interests of SHÁH JAHÁN, he attached himself to the side of AURANGZEB, and if SULTAN SHUJÁ had not had opposed to him so brave and able a commander he would, no doubt, have given more trouble to his

[1] Although previously called Mir Jimola or Mir Gimola, his name is here given in the nearly correct form of Emir Jemla. (See Index).

[2] His desertion of the King of Golconda seems to have been justified by the action of that King, as described by Tavernier on page 165 *et seq.*, but there is some ground for the supposition that his son, Muhammad Amin, brought the family into disgrace by his imprudence and misconduct at the King's Court.

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brother, and possibly might have conquered him. The two armies having encountered one another many times, victory was sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other, and SULTAN MUHAMMAD, assisted by the advice of his lieutenant, seeing that this war was protracted, resolved to change the method and to combine ruse with force in order to accomplish the destruction of SULTAN SHUJÁ. He treated with the majority of the officers of his uncle's army secretly, and made them magnificent promises, urging them so strongly to follow the side of AURANGZEB—whom he called the pillar and protector of the Muhammadan law—that he secured the principals, to whom he afterwards made considerable presents, to assure himself better of their support. This was a mortal stroke for SULTAN SHUJÁ, which he was unable to parry; for those who followed him being mercenaries, and that kind of people who declare for those who give most, they concluded that they had nothing more to hope from this Prince, whose finances were expended, and would find it more profitable to declare for AURANGZEB, whom fortune favoured in every way, and was master of all the treasures. Thus it was easy for AURANGZEB to bribe the whole army of his brother, who in the last battle which was fought found himself abandoned by all and compelled to fly with his wives and children. The traitors, ashamed of their baseness, did not pursue the unfortunate Prince, as they might have done; and, like mean folk, as soon as he had taken flight busied themselves with the destruction of his tents and the pillage of his baggage. This was allowed them by MIR JUMLA as a reward for their treachery. SULTAN SHUJÁ, having embarked with his family in some boats,

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crossed the GANGES, and some time afterwards withdrew to the Kingdom of ARAKAN, on the confines of BENGAL, where we must leave him to take breath, in order to ascertain tidings of SULTAN MUHAMMAD, eldest son of AURANGZEB, and SULTAN SULIMAN SHEKO, eldest son of DÁRÁ SHÁH, who still caused trouble to AURANGZEB.

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CHAPTER VI

Concerning the prison of SULTAN MUHAMMAD, *son of Aurangzeb, and of* SULTAN SULIMAN SHEKO, *eldest son of* DÁRÁ SHÁH.

ALTHOUGH AURANGZEB was considered a very great politician, and was so in fact, still he allowed himself to be deceived in entrusting a powerful army to his son under the conduct of a great captain, but one who, having already, as I have said, betrayed two Kings, his masters,[1] ought to have made AURANGZEB fear for himself a similar treatment. This Prince, who had mounted the throne by means of many crimes, and had supplanted his father, whom he held a prisoner, and also his two brothers, one of whom he had executed, and the other of whom he had put to flight, was always justly alarmed lest Heaven should inspire his own son to avenge his grandfather. As it had been reported to him that SULTAN MUHAMMAD was extraordinarily pensive and melancholy, he firmly believed that he was meditating means to ruin him, and in this belief he sought to draw some explanation from MIR JUMLA. He wrote to him that having heard that SULTAN MUHAMMAD had had some secret communications with his uncle, SULTAN SHUJÁ, it was advisable that he

[1] Namely, the King of Golconda and Sháh Jahán.

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should arrest him and send him to court. The letter having been accidentally seized by SULTAN MUHAMMAD'S guards, and afterwards brought to that young Prince, who was a man of sense, he concealed the matter from MIR JUMLA, fearing that he might have received other more precise orders from his father concerning his life, he resolved to cross the GANGES, and throw himself into the arms of his uncle SULTAN SHUJÁ, from whom he hoped for more kindness than from his father.[1] With this resolve he pretended to go fishing, and, having speedily prepared some boats on the GANGES, crossed with many of his officers to the camp of SULTAN SHUJÁ, who was on the other side of the river, and who had found means for assembling some troops during the time he had been meditating his retreat to the King of ARAKAN. SULTAN MUHAMMAD having reached his uncle's presence, threw himself at his feet, and asked his pardon for having taken up arms against him, to which he had been forced by his father, adding that he was not ignorant of the injustice with which he had seized the throne. Although SULTAN SHUJÁ might have thought that the arrival of MUHAMMAD in his camp was only a ruse of AURANGZEB'S, who had sent him to spy out his condition and discover his weakness, nevertheless, as he was a good and generous Prince, seeing his nephew at his knees, he immediately raised him, and embracing him, assured him of his protection against AURANGZEB. Some days afterwards these two Princes made an attempt, and recrossing the GANGES, made a long

[1] The real object of his affection, and possibly the cause of his going over, was Sultan Shuja's daughter, whom he desired to marry, and to whom he was in fact soon after married.

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detour to surprise the army of the enemy, who did not expect them. They attacked with vigour, and slew many; but when they saw that the enemy began to recover from this sudden attack, they contented themselves with the advantage gained, and recrossed the GANGES, being afraid of being surrounded by the multitude, and of not being able to withdraw when they wished.

MIR JUMLA had already given notice to AURANGZEB of the flight of his son, at which the father experienced considerable displeasure, though he dared not show it to the MIR, for fear that it might cause him to do likewise, and betray him as he had betrayed SHÁH JAHÁN, his father, and the King of GOLCONDA. AURANGZEB merely wrote to him that he confided entirely in his great prudence and delicate tact to restore SULTAN MUHAMMAD to his duty; who was still young, and that this fit only proceeded from an age full of fire, which ordinarily loved change. The confidence which AURANGZEB showed in MIR JUMLA induced that general to use all possible means to withdraw MUHAMMAD from the hands of SULTAN SHUJÁ. He informed the young Prince that the King, his father, had the best intentions regarding him, and that he was always ready to receive him with open arms, provided he would make good use of his retreat to SULTAN SHUJÁ, which he might make serviceable to AURANGZEB, who would love him the more, and would thus have an opportunity of praising his prudence and affection. The young Prince allowed himself to be easily persuaded; and by the same way as he had gone to the camp of his uncle SULTAN SHUJÁ, he returned to that of his father AURANGZEB, where MIR JUMLA received him with honour, and with great demonstrations of joy. He advised

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him to say to his father as soon as he saw him, that he went to SULTAN SHUJÁ merely for the purpose of spying out his forces and the condition of his army, and that he should repair with speed to AURANGZEB, in order to tell him what he had done in his service, and to receive his reward. It was also the command of AURANGZEB that his son should be sent to him; and MUHAMMAD, whether willingly or by compulsion, set out for JAHÁNÁBÁD, where he arrived accompanied by the guards which MIR JUMLA had sent with him. Their commander having announced to the King the arrival of his son, his Majesty assigned a lodging for him outside his palace, and would not allow him to come to kiss his hands. He ordered him to be informed that he was indisposed; and whilst this lodging served him as a prison until he was transferred to the fortress of GWALIOR,[1] let us see what was done to SULTAN SULIMAN SHEKO, eldest son of the unfortunate DÁRÁ SHÁH, whose head AURANGZEB had cut off.

SULTAN SULIMAN SHEKO, after having been betrayed by *Raja* RÚP, as I have above related,[2] remained in the country of SRINAGAR,[3] under the protection of NAKTI RANI,[4] its ruler. This Prince, who was courageous as well as unfortunate, was compelled to pass a wild life in the mountains in order not to fall into the hands of AURANGZEB, who with all his forces was unable to harm him there. On the other hand, NACTI RANI assured him by an oath, accompanied by all the

[1] Sultan Muhammad died in 1677, in his 38th year. His wife, the daughter of Shujá, was with him in prison.

[2] See p. 346.

[3] Serenaguer in the original, Srinagar, the capital of Kashmir.

[4] Dow calls the *Raja*, Pirti Singh. (*History of Hindostan*, vol. iii, p. 246.) For Nakti Rani see p. 347.

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ceremonies which could render it solemn and inviolable, that he would lose his Kingdom rather than allow AURANGZEB to do him the least violence to the prejudice of that protection which he afforded him. He went for this purpose to a river which runs through his country, to bathe his body as testimony of the purity of his soul; and being thus purified in the water, he made his promise to SULIMAN SHEKO never to abandon him, took his gods as witnesses to the purity of his intentions, and gave the young Prince no ground for doubting his promises. SULIMAN SHEKO, after that, thought only of amusing himself and his followers with the chase, and they, on their part, sought to amuse him to the utmost of their power, while he devoted himself entirely to pleasure.

AURANGZEB ordered troops to advance towards the mountains of SRINAGAR in order to compel *Raja* NAKTI RANI to put SULIMAN SHEKO in his power. But the *Raja* being able with 1000 men to defend all the entrances to his country, which are narrow and difficult, against 100,000, rendered all AURANGZEB'S efforts futile, who thereupon had recourse to ruse, seeing that force availed nothing.

He sought at first to treat with the *Raja*, but in vain, for the *Raja* would not violate his oath; and moreover his priests assured him that AURANGZEB would be deprived of his Kingdom, and that SULIMAN SHEKO would reign in a short time; this made him treat the young Prince with all possible kindness.

AURANGZEB seeing that his army was unable to advance into the country of the *Raja*, set himself to make another kind of war in order to obtain DÁRÁ SHÁH'S son from his hands. He forbade commerce

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between his subjects and those of the *Raja;* this was very prejudicial to the latter, who, inhabiting a country of mountains and rocks, are constrained to provide themselves from outside with whatever they want. They immediately commenced to murmur at the protection which he had given to SULTAN SULIMAN SHEKO, and cried out that it was to the prejudice of the public welfare. Their priests also began to doubt the truth of their oracles, and to believe that it was desirable to interpret them otherwise. At last they began to arrange for the ruin of this poor Prince; and what completed it was that *Raja* JESWANT SINGH, who had betrayed DÁRÁ SHÁH, as I have above related, sent secretly to *Raja* NAKTI RANI to advise him that it was for his own safety and that of his country to yield to the will of AURANGZEB, and give up his nephew into his hands. This advice of JESWANT SINGH sorely embarrassed the *Raja*, for on the one side he had made a solemn oath, and sworn by *Ram Ram* to protect SULIMAN SHEKO at the risk of his country and his life, on the other he feared a revolt in his Kingdom and the prospect of losing it.

Uncertain what to do, he consulted the *Brahmins*, who pronounced that he was rather bound to protect his people and his faith, which would be destroyed if the country became subject to AURANGZEB, who was a Muhammadan, than to protect a Prince from whom he could never receive any benefit. These councils having been held without SULIMAN SHEKO's knowledge, his destruction was settled when he believed himself to be in the greatest safety. The *Raja* NAKTI RANI thinking to shield his honour and conscience, replied to JESWANT SINGH's messenger that he was unable to

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bring himself to betray the Prince, but that AURANGZEB might seize him, and so protect his reputation; and that SULIMAN SHEKO was in the habit of going to hunt in certain mountains in his country, taking only a few people with him, and that it would be easy for JESWANT SINGH to send a number of soldiers to take him prisoner, and hand him over to AURANGZEB.

Immediately on receipt of this reply, JESWANT SINGH gave orders to his son to go and execute the design as it had been arranged, so that when on a certain day SULIMAN SHEKO, on going to hunt at the usual place, was attacked by a strong party who were in ambuscade, he at once saw the treason, and put himself in a position of defence with his followers, who were all slain on the spot. The Prince defended himself bravely, and alone slew nine of the assailants; but he was borne down by numbers, and was carried to JAHÁNÁBÁD. When he came into AURANGZEB'S presence, the King asked him how he felt. "As your prisoner," replied the Prince, "who does not expect from you different treatment from that which my father has received." The King replied that he had nothing to fear, that he would not put him to death, but only assure himself of his person. AURANGZEB then inquired what had become of the treasures which he had carried away; he replied that he had employed a portion to raise troops to make war against him and destroy him, if good fortune had been on his side; that another portion had been retained in the hands of *Raja* RUP, whose avarice and perfidy were sufficiently well known; and that the traitor *Raja* NAKTI RANI had seized the remainder when delivering him treacherously to his enemies, despite his promise and pledged honour.

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AURANGZEB was surprised and much moved by the noble courage of his nephew, but ambition closed his eyes and stifled in him all the sentiments of justice which a proper remorse of conscience might arouse; and in order to secure his throne he directed that SULTAN MUHAMMAD, his son, and SULIMAN SHEKO, his nephew, should be conducted to the fortress of GWALIOR, to keep company with their uncle, MURÁD BAKSH and some other Princes who were in prison. This was done on the 30th of January 1661.

SULTAN SHUJÁ, who still lived, although in a miserable condition, was the last thorn which remained in the foot of AURANGZEB, and he who extracted it, and relieved him of this unfortunate Prince whom he had still to fear, was the King of ARAKAN, with whom he had been compelled to take refuge. As SHUJÁ saw that there was now no more hope of aid for him, he resolved to make a pilgrimage to MECCA, and from thence to pass into PERSIA to seek an asylum with the King. Having this intention he believed he would obtain a ship from the King of ARAKAN or from the King of PEGU to take him to MOCHA, but he was unaware that neither of these Kings had other than long and narrow much decorated demi-galleys, which they use on their rivers, and that they had no vessels capable of traversing the great ocean. Consequently SULTAN SHUJÁ was obliged to remain with the King of ARAKAN, who is an idolater, and in order the better to secure his protection, asked for one of his daughters in marriage, which request was granted, and he had a son by her. But this, which should have been a strong bond of friendship between father and son-in-law, soon became a cause of division and hatred; and some

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nobles of the country, who had already shown jealousy of SULTAN SHUJÁ, caused him to be regarded with suspicion by the King of ARAKAN, as though he desired, in consequence of his marriage with his daughter, and of the son which he had by her, to depose him from his throne. This pagan King, in whose country several Muhammadans were settled, easily believed what was told him, namely, that this Muhammadan Prince might readily induce all who were in his country, under the pretext of zeal for religion, to form a conspiracy, and place himself on the throne of ARAKAN, instead of that which his own younger brother had seized upon. These doubts were not altogether ill-founded, for in truth SULTAN SHUJÁ, who still had quantities of golden rupees and many jewels, easily bribed a number of these Muhammadans of the Kingdom of ARAKAN, and with about 200 men who remained of those who had followed him from BENGAL after the defeat of his army, he arranged an enterprise of much boldness, but which was at the same time less an indication of bravery than of despair.

He appointed a day with those of his own party for forcing an entry into the palace, and after having put to death all the royal family, he intended to have himself at the same time proclaimed King of ARAKAN. But this great plot having been discovered the day before it was to have been executed, SULTAN SHUJÁ and SULTAN BANGUE, his son, had no other resource left but to take flight, hoping to escape to the Kingdom of PEGU. But the high, nearly inaccessible mountains, and the thick forests full of tigers and lions[1] through

[1] There are no lions in these regions, nor is there the slightest reason for supposing that they ever ranged so far to the East as Arakan.

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which they had to travel, and where there was scarcely any road, made their flight useless, in addition to which the enemy gave them but little time to get away before they followed on their tracks. SULTAN BANGUE, who marched last, to resist those whom he believed the King would surely send to seize them, and to give his father, and his family who followed him, a chance to escape, defended himself bravely against the first who attacked, but, being at length overcome by numbers and thrown down, was carried off together with his two younger brothers, his mother, and sisters. All the members of this unhappy family were placed in prison, where they were at first treated with great harshness; but some time afterwards, the King being inclined to marry the eldest sister of SULTAN BANGUE, they were given a little more liberty. They would have enjoyed it longer, but for the impatience of this young Prince, who, having an active and ambitious spirit, made a new plot against the King, which proved to be the cause of their total ruin. For the plot having been precipitated without success, the King, roused to anger, commanded that the whole family should be straightway exterminated, even including the young Princess whom he had espoused, although she was *enceinte*.

As for what became of SULTAN SHUJÁ, who was the most advanced of all in the flight, the accounts of his fate are so different that one does not know which to believe. But, if all vary in the circumstances, they agree so far that he is no longer alive, and that he either died by the hands of soldiers who were sent to seize his person, or was torn to pieces

it being beyond the limits of their ascertained geographical distribution in prehistorical, as well as in historical times.

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by the tigers or lions, which abound in the forests of these countries.[1]

This, then, is what I have been able to ascertain concerning this famous war which lasted six years, and I have not met with any other version of it at SURAT, AGRA, JAHÁNÁBÁD, or in BENGAL, where I was precisely informed by those who were present at its principal events, having been myself a witness of a portion of them, as I have related in this account. Let us now see what were the first acts of the reign of AURANGZEB, and what was the fate of SHÁH JAHÁN, his father.

[1] He is said by some writers to have been taken out in the river in a canoe, which was scuttled; his captors, escaping in another canoe, left him to drown.

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CHAPTER VII

Concerning the beginning of AURANGZEB'S *reign, and the death of* SHÁH JAHÁN, *his father.*

I HAVE mentioned in the fifth chapter that AURANGZEB ascended the throne as soon as he had disposed of his brother, DÁRÁ SHÁH,[1] and I shall add here some details which preceded this ceremony, and are sufficiently worthy of record. Some days previously he boldly sent to present his compliments to SHÁH JAHÁN, his father, which he well knew would be displeasing to him. He begged him, as he was about to ascend the throne in a few days, to have the goodness to send some of his jewels to be used on that day, so that he might appear before his people with the same magnificence as the other Kings, his predecessors, had done. SHÁH JAHÁN, at this demand of AURANGZEB, which he regarded as an insult levelled at him in his prison by his son, became so enraged, that for some days he was like a madman, and he even nearly died. In the excess of his annoyance he called frequently for a pestle and mortar, saying that he would pound up all his precious stones and pearls, so that

[1] Aurangzeb was proclaimed Emperor on the 26th of May 1659. But his administration of the Empire commenced on the 9th of June 1658. (See p. 356 *n.*)

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AURANGZEB might never possess them.[1] But BEGUM SAHIB, his eldest daughter, who had never left him, throwing herself at his feet, besought him not to proceed to such an extremity, and having full power over him in consequence of the intimate relations which existed between them, appeased him, rather with the object of keeping the precious stones for herself than to give pleasure to her brother, who might one day become their possessor, he having always been her mortal enemy. Thus, when AURANGZEB ascended the throne he had only one jewel on his cap (*toque*);[2] but if he had desired more he did not lack them, as I have elsewhere said, and he only asked for the stones from his father with the intention of retaining them permanently. This cap, as I have related in my account of PERSIA, cannot be called a crown,

[1] Sháh Jahán appears to have subsequently relented, though it is not so stated by Tavernier; but Bernier says, "that of his own accord he sent some of those jewels, which before he had told him of, that hammers were ready to beat them to powder, the first time he should again ask for them." (*History of the late Revolution*, etc., vol. ii, p. 100, English translation.) Ultimately, on Sháh Jahán's death, when Aurangzeb entered the Seraglio at Agra, Begum Sahib presented him with a large golden basin full of jewels, *tom. cit.* p. 174. (*Vide ante*, p. 344, and Book II, chap. x, p. 398.)

Thevenot relates the same story as Bernier, and adds that the Peacock throne was in Sháh Jahán's possession in prison, but this latter statement is incorrect. (*Voyage des Indes*, p. 101.)

[2] Possibly the topaz referred to in Book II, chaps. x and xxii, and also by Bernier, who says, "The King appeared seated upon his throne at one extremity of the great hall of the *Am khás* splendidly attired, his garment being of white flowered satin embroidered, his turband of gold cloth having an egret worked upon it, the feet of which were studded with diamonds of extraordinary lustre and value, and in the centre was a beautiful Oriental topaz of matchless size and splendour, shining like a little sun." (*Travels in the Mogul Empire*, p. 179, Calcutta Edition, English translation, 1826.)

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neither, consequently, can the ceremony be called a coronation.[1]

From the moment that AURANGZEB took possession of the throne, he would eat neither wheaten bread, flesh, nor fish. He sustained himself with barley-bread, vegetables, and sweetmeats, and would not drink any strong liquor. This was a penance which he imposed on himself for the many crimes which he had committed; but his ambition and the desire to reign are still strong, so much so that he is resolved not to renounce the throne during his life.

When AURANGZEB was settled on the throne, and all ASIA had heard the news, there arrived at different times at JAHÁNÁBÁD many ambassadors, who came to salute the new King on the part of their masters, to offer him their service and ask for his friendship. The USBEG TARTARS were the first,[2] afterwards the *Cherif*[3] of MECCA, the King of HYEMAN,[4] or ARABIA FELIX, the Prince of BASSORA, and the King of ETHIOPIA sent theirs. The Dutch also sent M. ADRICAN, Commander-in-Chief of the factory at SURAT, who was very well treated, and was quickly received out of respect for the European nation. For these Kings of INDIA consider that it enhances their

[1] This very trivial point as to whether the term coronation was strictly applicable or not, was the subject of some sharp controversy between Chardin and our author. (See Chardin, *Voyages*, Amsterdam Edition, 1711, vol. ix, p. 85, and *Persian Travels*, Book V, chap. i, p. 524.)

[2] A previous embassy from the Usbeg Tartars to Sháh Jahán brought him boxes of choice lapis lazuli, camels, fruit, etc. Lapis lazuli is a product of Badakshán. (See Bernier, *History of the Last Revolution*, vol. ii, p. 4.)

[3] For *Sharif*, Arab., generally written *Shereef*, a descendant of Muhammad.

[4] The province of Oman, S.E. corner of Arabia.

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dignity for foreigners to remain at Court for a considerable time. All these Ambassadors made presents to AURANGZEB, according to custom, of whatever was most rare in their respective countries, and this Prince, who desired from the first to spread a good reputation for himself throughout ASIA, took care to send them back well satisfied.

Some months before the death of SHÁH JAHÁN, AURANGZEB sent an Ambassador to PERSIA, who was at first magnificently received,[1] as I have alluded to in the first part of my travels. When he arrived the talk for a month was all of feasts and hunting parties, and every night he was entertained with fireworks. The day upon which he was to make the present on behalf of the GREAT MOGUL, the King of PERSIA appeared upon his throne, superbly clad, and having accepted what the Ambassador had to give, distributed the whole of it contemptuously among the officers of his house, only retaining for himself a diamond weighing nearly 60 carats. Some days afterwards he sent for the Ambassador, from whom he inquired, after some conversation, whether he was a *Suni*[2]—that is to say, of the sect of the Turks; the meaning of this has been

[1] Chardin says that *Negef Coulibec* (Najaf Kuli Beg) was sent by the King of Persia as Ambassador in the year 1664, in order simply to report the safe arrival of the Mogul's Ambassador in Persia, and to convey a present of melons and other fruits. The Great Mogul received him well, and sent him back with presents; but news having arrived, two days after his departure, of the bad treatment of the Mogul's Ambassador by the King of Persia, the Mogul had Najaf brought back, and ordered all the fruit to be flung into the house where he lodged. (Chardin, *Voyages*, Amsterdam Edition, 1711, vol. viii, p. 213.)

[2] *Sonnis* in the original. The distinctive characteristics of the *Sunis* and *Shiás* are set forth in Book IV, chap. vii, of the *Persian Travels*. (See also vol. ii, Book III, chap. i.)

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sufficiently explained elsewhere. The Ambassador in his reply having allowed some smart remark to escape him against the Prophet ALI, whom the Persians revere, the King again asked him his name. He replied that his Majesty SHÁH JAHÁN had given him the name of BAOBHÁK (?) KHÁN,[1] *i.e.* lord of a free heart, that he had received great bounties from him, and had been honoured by one of the first offices in his Court. "Thou art then a villain," said the King with an angry countenance, "to have abandoned thy King in his need after so many favours, and to serve a tyrant who keeps his father in prison, and has murdered his brothers and nephews. How is it," continued the King, "that he dares to assume the stately titles of ALAMGIR, AURANG SHÁH, of King who holds the universe in his hand, since he has as yet conquered nothing, and all he possesses is derived from murders and treason? Is it possible," added this Prince, "that thou art one of those who have counselled him to the shedding of so much blood, to be the executioner of his brothers, and to hold his father in prison; thou who hast acknowledged to having received so much honour and so many benefits? Thou art not worthy," said the King, "to possess the beard that thou wearest," and straightway he ordered him to be shaved, which is the greatest affront that can be done to a man in that country. The Ambassador, who but little expected to be so treated, at the same time received orders from the King of PERSIA to return, and the King gave him as a present for AURANGZEB, his master, 150 beautiful horses, with a quantity of gold and silver carpets, pieces of gold brocade, rich sashes, and other

[1] Baubec Kan in the original. Its identity with Baobhák is doubtful.

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beautiful stuffs; this was worth much more than the present which AURANGZEB had sent him, although that was valued at near two millions.[1]

When BAOBHÁK KHÁN returned to AGRA, where the King then was, AURANGZEB, enraged at the affront done to himself by the King of PERSIA, in the person of his Ambassador, ordered the 150 horses to be taken, some to the centre of the city, and others to the corners of the streets, and had it proclaimed throughout the city that the followers of ALI could not mount these horses without becoming *Nagis*,[2] *i.e.* unclean, since they came from a King who did not observe the true law, and one with whom they could have no communion. This done, he ordered the 150 horses to be slain, and all the rest of the present to be burned, while he used most abusive language towards the King of PERSIA, by whom he considered himself to be mortally insulted.

At length SHÁH JAHÁN dying in the AGRA fort towards the end of 1666,[3] AURANGZEB had no longer before his eyes a troublesome object which reproached him constantly with his tyranny, and he began to enjoy more fully the pleasure of reigning. He received BEGUM SÁHIB, his sister, into his favour soon afterwards, restoring all her governments to her, and commanding, moreover, that she should bear the title of Princess Queen. It is true that she has infinite qualities, and is capable of governing the whole

[1] The coin not being mentioned, whether rupees, *livres*, or some Persian coin, the statement is vague. In the English translation of 1684 the passage is judiciously rendered "to a vast value."

[2] This is probably *najáz*, Persian for unclean. (See *Vambéry's Life*, p. 57, for an example of its use.)

[3] Sháh Jahán died in December 1666.

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Empire. If, at the commencement of the war, her father and her brothers had only believed her, AURANGZEB had never been King, and affairs would have had a totally different aspect. As for RAUSHENÁRÁ BEGUM, his sister, she had always taken AURANGZEB's side, and when she heard that he had taken up arms immediately sent him all the gold and silver she could. He also promised her, in recognition of her good services, that when he became King he would give her the title of SHÁH BEGUM, and would seat her on a throne.[1] He kept his word, and they were always much attached. Nevertheless, the last time I was at JAHÁNÁBÁD I heard that their friendship had somewhat cooled. That arose, as I was assured, in consequence of the Princess having had conveyed into her apartments a handsome young man, and wishing to get rid of him at the end of fifteen or twenty days, when she was tired of him, the thing could not be accomplished so secretly but that the King heard of it. The Princess, in order to anticipate the disgrace and reproach which she feared, hastened with assumed terror to the King, saying that a man had entered the harem even to her chamber, that she was certain it was either to slay or rob her, that such a thing had never before been seen, that the safety of his royal person was involved, and that his Majesty should severely punish all the Eunuchs who were on guard that night. Immediately the King himself, with a number of Eunuchs, hastened to the spot, and in this

[1] Some writers consider that this amounted to a promise that he would marry her himself, although she was his sister. Whatever truth there may be in the reputed incest of Sháh Jahán, it does not appear that Aurangzeb was guilty of that crime.

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extremity the poor young man could not do otherwise than leap from the window into the river which flows below. Thereupon a crowd assembled from all quarters to seize him, the King calling out to them to do him no injury, but take him to the Chief Judge. Since then no more has been heard of the matter, and it is not difficult to imagine that strange things take place in the enclosure where these women and girls are shut up.

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CHAPTER VIII

Concerning the preparations which are made for the festival of the GREAT MOGUL, *when he is solemnly weighed every year. Of the splendour of his thrones and the magnificence of his Court.*

AFTER having completed all my business with the King, as I have related in the first Book,[1] and on going to take leave of his Majesty on the first of November 1665, he told me that he was unwilling that I should depart without having witnessed his *fête*, which was then at hand, and that afterwards he would give orders for me to be shown all his jewels.[2] I accepted, as in duty bound, the honour he did me; and thus I was a spectator of this grand festival, which commenced on the fourth of November and lasted five days. It is on the anniversary of the King's birthday that they are in the habit of weighing him,[3] and if he should

[1] See Book I, chap. viii, p. 137.

[2] See p. 394.

[3] Aurangzeb evaded the custom of distributing his weight in money, and did not have tokens coined, like his predecessors, to celebrate the occasion of his coronation. Sir T. Roe describes the scramble for thin pieces of silver, made to resemble different fruits, in rather contemptuous terms. The Mogul, Jahángir, presented a basin full of them to him; but while he held them in his cloak the nobles snatched most of them from him. He estimates that the amount distributed did not exceed £100 in value. (*Journal*, Calcutta Ed., p. 104.) Terry, his chaplain, also describes the scene. (*Voyage*, London 1777 Ed., p. 376.)

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weigh more than in the preceding year, the rejoicing is much greater on that account. When he has been weighed, he seats himself on the richest of the thrones, of which I shall speak presently, and then all the nobility of the kingdom come to salute him and make him presents. The ladies of the court send some also, and he receives others from all the Governors of Provinces and other exalted personages. In diamonds, rubies, emeralds, pearls, gold and silver, as well as rich carpets, brocades of gold and silver, and other stuffs, elephants, camels, and horses, the King receives in presents on this day to the value of more than 30,000,000 *livres*.[1]

Preparations for this festival are commenced on the 7th of September, about two months before the five days which it lasts; and the reader should remember here the description which I have given of the palace of JAHÁNÁBÁD in the sixth chapter of Book I.[2] The first thing done is to cover in two grand courts of the palace from the middle of each court up to the hall, which is open on three sides. The awnings covering this great space are of red velvet embroidered with gold, and so heavy that the poles which are erected to support them are of the size of a ship's mast, and some of them are 35 to 40 feet in height; there are thirty-eight for the tent of the first court, and those near the hall are covered with plates of gold of the thickness of a ducat. The others are covered with silver of the same thickness, and the cords which sustain these poles are of cotton of different colours, and some of them of the thickness of a good cable.

[1] 30,000,000 *livres*, at 1s. 6d. to the *livre* = £2,250,000.

[2] See Book I, chap. vi, p. 97.

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The first court is, as I have elsewhere said, surrounded by porticoes with small rooms connected with them, and here it is that the *Omrahs* dwell while they are on guard. For it should be remarked that one of the *Omrahs* mounts guard every week. He disposes, both in the court as also about the palace or the tent of the King, when he is in the field, the cavalry under his command, besides many elephants. During this week the *Omrah* on guard receives his food from the King's kitchen, and when he sees the food which is being brought to him afar off, he makes three obeisances in succession, which consist in placing the hand three times on the ground, and as often on the head, at the same time asking God to preserve the King's health, and that He will give him long life and power to vanquish his enemies. All these *Omrahs*, who are the nobility of the kingdom and Princes of the blood, regard it as a great honour to guard the King; and when they mount guard, or when they leave it, they don their best clothes, their horses, elephants, and camels being also richly clad, and some of these camels carry a swivel-gun with a man seated behind to fire it. The least of these *Omrahs* commands 2000 horse, but, when a Prince of the blood is on guard, he commands up to 6000.

It should be stated that the GREAT MOGUL has seven magnificent thrones, one wholly covered with diamonds, the others with rubies, emeralds, or pearls.

The principal throne, which is placed in the hall of the first court, is nearly of the form and size of our camp beds; that is to say, it is about 6 feet long and 4 wide. Upon the four feet, which are very massive, and from 20 to 25 inches high, are fixed the four bars

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which support the base of the throne, and upon these bars are ranged twelve columns, which sustain the canopy on three sides, there not being any on that which faces the court. Both the feet and the bars, which are more than 18 inches long, are covered with gold inlaid and enriched with numerous diamonds, rubies, and emeralds. In the middle of each bar there is a large *balass*[1] ruby, cut *en cabuchon*, with four emeralds round it, which form a square cross. Next in succession, from one side to the other along the length of the bars there are similar crosses, arranged so that in one the ruby is in the middle of four emeralds, and in another the emerald is in the middle and four *balass* rubies surround it. The emeralds are table-cut, and the intervals between the rubies and emeralds are covered with diamonds, the largest of which do not exceed 10 to 12 carats in weight, all being showy stones, but very flat. There are also in some parts pearls set in gold, and upon one of the longer sides of the throne there are four steps to ascend it. Of the

[1] *Balet* in the original, for *balass*, etc. I have elsewhere referred to this word as being probably derived from Balakshán, a form of the name Badakshán (see *Economic Geology of India*, p. 430). The *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, however, establishes this view beyond question of doubt by quotations from Ibn Batuta, iii, 59, 394, and Barbosa, etc. The stones from this locality, which is on the banks of the Shignán, a tributary of the Oxus, are not, however, rubies, but spinelles; at the same time it would appear that with some authorities the term *balass* has been transferred to true rubies of a particular shade of colour—hence a considerable degree of confusion has arisen in this branch of the nomenclature of precious stones. After Ibn Batuta's testimony, derivations from Baluchistan and Baluchin—an old name for Pegu?—need perhaps only be mentioned in order to be dismissed; but with reference to the latter, Chardin, *Voyages*, tome iv, p. 70, Amsterdam Ed. of 1711, says:—"*On l'appelle aussi Balacchani, Pierre de Balacchan, qui est le Pegu, d'où je juge qu'est venu le nom de Balays qu'on donne aux Rubis couleur de rose.*"

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three cushions or pillows which are upon the throne, that which is placed behind the King's back is large and round like one of our bolsters, and the two others that are placed at his sides are flat. There is to be seen, moreover, a sword suspended from this throne, a mace, a round shield, a bow and quiver with arrows; and all these weapons, as also the cushions and steps, both of this throne and the other six, are covered over with stones which match those with which each of the thrones is respectively enriched.[1]

I counted the large *balass* rubies on the great throne, and there are about 108, all *cabuchons*, the least of which weighs 100 carats,[2] but there are some which weigh apparently 200 and more. As for the emeralds,[3] there are plenty of good colour, but they have many flaws; the largest may weigh 60 carats, and the least 30 carats. I counted about one hundred and sixteen (116); thus there are more emeralds than rubies.

The underside of the canopy is covered with diamonds and pearls, with a fringe of pearls all round, and above the canopy, which is a quadrangular-shaped dome, there is to be seen a peacock with elevated tail made of blue sapphires and other coloured stones, the body being of gold inlaid with precious stones, having a large ruby in front of the breast, from whence hangs a pear-shaped pearl of 50 carats or thereabouts, and of a somewhat yellow water. On both sides of

[1] See Book I, chap. vi, p. 99.

[2] Rubies of good quality weighing 100 carats would be worth more than diamonds of equal weight, but it is probable that these were not perfect in every respect.

[3] For the source whence the emeralds were obtained, see Book II, chap. xix.

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the peacock there is a large bouquet of the same height as the bird, and consisting of many kinds of flowers made of gold inlaid with precious stones. On the side of the throne which is opposite the court there is to be seen a jewel consisting of a diamond of from 80 to 90 carats weight, with rubies and emeralds round it, and when the King is seated he has this jewel in full view. But that which in my opinion is the most costly thing about this magnificent throne is that the twelve columns supporting the canopy are surrounded with beautiful rows of pearls, which are round and of fine water, and weigh from 6 to 10 carats each. At 4 feet distance from the throne there are fixed, on either side, two umbrellas, the sticks of which for 7 or 8 feet in height are covered with diamonds, rubies, and pearls. These umbrellas are of red velvet, and are embroidered and fringed all round with pearls.

This is what I have been able to observe regarding this famous throne, commenced by TAMERLANE and completed by SHÁH JAHÁN; and those who keep the accounts of the King's jewels, and of what this great work has cost, have assured me that it amounts to one hundred and seven thousand lakhs of rupees,[1]

[1] There is certainly some mistake here; the figure should stand at 107,000,000, namely, one thousand and seventy *lakhs*, which at two-thirds of the rupee to the *livre* would be equal to 160,500,000 *livres*, or £12,037,500, the rupee being 2s. 3d., and the *livre* 1s. 6d. Thevenot says that the throne was reported to be worth 20,000,000 in "gold" (*mohurs?*), but he adds that a true estimate could only be arrived at by a careful examination of the precious stones with which it was adorned. (*Voyages*, Paris Ed., 1684, p. 123.) Bernier says 4 *crores* of rupees, or about 60,000,000 French *livres*, say £4,500,000. (*Travels in the Mogul Empire*, Eng. Trans., Calcutta Ed., 1826, p. 179.) A recent estimate of the value of this throne as it stands in the Sháh's palace at Teheran at present is 13,000,000 dollars, say £2,600,000. (See *Persia*, by S. G. W. Benjamin, p. 73.)

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sic. (*i.e.* 10,700,000,000) which amount to one hundred and sixty millions five hundred thousand *livres* of our money (*i.e.* 160,500,000).

Behind this grand and magnificent throne there is placed a smaller one, which has the form of a bathing-tub. It is of an oval shape of about 7 feet in length and 5 in breadth, and the outside is covered over with diamonds and pearls, but it has no canopy.

When in the first court you see, on the right hand, a special tent under which, during the King's festival, the principal *baladines* of the town are obliged to be present in order to sing and dance while the King is on his throne. To the left there is another place, also covered by a tent, where the principal officers of the army and other officers of the guard and of the King's household are in attendance.

In the same quarter, during the time that the King remains seated on his throne, there are thirty horses, all bridled, fifteen on one side and fifteen on the other, each held by two men. The bridles are very narrow, and for the most part enriched with diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and pearls, some having only small gold coins. Each horse has upon its head, between the ears, a bunch of beautiful feathers, and a small cushion on the back with the surcingle, the whole embroidered with gold; and suspended from the neck there is a fine jewel, either a diamond, a ruby, or an emerald. The least valuable of these horses costs from 3000 to 5000 *écus*, and there are some worth 20,000 rupees, *i.e.* 10,000 *écus*.[1] The young Prince, who was then only seven or eight years old, rode a small horse, the

[1] The *écu* being equal to 4s. 6d., the prices of the horses would be £875 to £1125 and £2250.

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height of which did not exceed that of a large greyhound, but it was a very well-made animal.

Half an hour, or, at the most, one hour after the King is seated on his throne, seven of the bravest elephants, which are trained to war, are brought for inspection. One of the seven has its howdah ready on its back, in case the King wishes to mount; the others are covered with housings of brocade, with chains of gold and silver about their necks, and there are four which carry the King's standard upon their backs; it is attached to a hand pike which a man holds erect. They are brought, one after the other, to within forty or fifty paces of the King, and when the elephant is opposite the throne it salutes his Majesty by placing its trunk on the ground and then elevating it above its head three times. On each occasion it trumpets aloud, and then, turning its back towards the King, one of the men who is riding upon it raises the housing in order that the King may see if the animal is in good condition, and has been well fed. Each has its own silken cord, which is stretched round its body in order to show whether it has increased since the previous year. The principal of these elephants, which the King is very fond of, is a large and fierce animal which has 500 rupees *per mensem* for its expenses.[1] It is fed with the best food and quantities of sugar, and is given spirits to drink. I have spoken elsewhere of the number of elephants kept by the King,[2] to which I

[1] £56. The ordinary Government allowance for all expenses connected with the keep of an elephant is, or was a few years ago, about 30 rupees a month in Northern India. Saunderson gives it at only 24 rupees in Bengal, and 48 rupees in Madras (*Thirteen Years*, etc., p. 100).

[2] See Book I, chap. xviii, p. 280.

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add here that when he rides out on his elephant the *Omrahs* follow him on horseback, and when he rides a horse the *Omrahs* follow on foot.

After the King has inspected his elephants he rises, and accompanied by three or four of his eunuchs enters his harem by a small door which is behind the oval-shaped throne.

The other five thrones are arranged in a superb hall in another court, and are covered over with diamonds, without any coloured stones. I shall not give a minute description of them for fear of wearying the reader, not forgetting that one becomes disgusted with the most beautiful things when they are too often before the eyes. These five thrones are disposed in such a manner that they form a cross, four making a square, the fifth being in the middle, but somewhat nearer to the two which are furthest from the people.

After the King has remained about half an hour in his harem, he comes out with three or four eunuchs in order to seat himself in that one of the five thrones which is in the middle, and during the five days that the festival lasts, sometimes his elephants are brought, sometimes his camels, and all the nobles of his Court come to make their accustomed presents. All this is not done without much magnificence, and with surroundings worthy of the greatest monarch in the East, the GREAT MOGUL being in power and wealth in ASIA, what the King of FRANCE is in EUROPE, but having nothing comparable with him in might if he waged war with a valiant and clever people like our Europeans.

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CHAPTER IX

Concerning other details of the GREAT MOGUL'S *Court.*

SINCE AURANGZEB, who reigns at present, has occupied the throne of the MOGULS, which he usurped from his father and brothers, he has imposed on himself, as I have said, a severe form of penance, and eats nothing which has enjoyed life. As he lives upon vegetables and sweetmeats only, he has become thin and meagre, to which the great fasts which he keeps have contributed. During the whole of the duration of the comet of the year ——,[1] which appeared very large in INDIA, where I then was, AURANGZEB only drank a little water and ate a small quantity of millet bread; this so much affected his health that he nearly died, for besides this he slept on the ground, with only a tiger's skin over him, and since that time he has never had perfect health.[2]

[1] This comet, if, as we may suppose, it appeared in 1665, was first seen in Europe at Aix, on the 27th of March of that year. It lasted four weeks, and had a tail 25° long. Its orbit was computed by Halley (*vide* Chambers's *Astronomy*, "Catalogue of Comets," No. 64). Terry refers to two great comets which appeared while he was at the Mogul's Court in the month of November 1618. They were followed by drought and famine. (See *A Voyage to East India*, London, 1777, p. 393.)

[2] At one period this Emperor subsisted on the proceeds of the sale of caps which he had embroidered with his own hands. He also wrote and sold extracts from the Koran for his daily bread. (See Chardin,

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I remember having seen the King drink upon three different occasions while seated on his throne. He had brought to him upon a golden saucer, enriched with diamonds, rubies, and emeralds, a large cup of rock crystal,[1] all round and smooth, the cover of which was of gold, with the same decoration as the saucer. As a rule no one sees the King eat except his women-kind and eunuchs, and it is very rarely that he goes to eat at the house of any of his subjects, whether of a Prince or even of his own relatives. While I was on my last journey, ZAFAR KHÁN, who was his *Grand Vizier*, and besides that his uncle on his wife's side, invited the King to visit him in order to see the new palace which he had had built for himself. This being the greatest honour his Majesty could do him, ZAFAR KHÁN and his wife, in testimony of their gratitude, made him a present of jewels, elephants, camels, horses, and other things, to the value of seven *lakhs* of rupees (700,000), which amount to one million and fifty thousand (1,050,000) *livres* of our money.[2] This wife of ZAFAR KHÁN is the most magnificent and the most liberal woman in the whole of INDIA, and she alone expends more than all the wives and daughters of the King put together; it is on this account that

Voyages, Amsterdam Ed., 1711, vol. viii, p. 91.) He is said on one occasion, when urged to found hospitals, to have replied that he would make the country so prosperous that there would be no more mendicants to be seen in it. (Chardin, *Voyages*, Amsterdam Ed., 1711, vol. viii, p. 86.)

[1] Vessels made of rock-crystal were much esteemed by the Emperors. I remember to have seen some very fine examples of large size which were found in the palace at the capture of Delhi after the Mutiny. Possibly some of the specimens preserved in the Green Vaults at Dresden came from India.

[2] £78,750. See Book II, chap. xxii.

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her family is always in debt, although her husband is practically master of the whole Empire. She had ordered a grand banquet to be prepared for the King, but his Majesty, as he did not wish to eat at ZAFAR KHÁN'S house, returned to the palace, and the Princess sent after him the dishes she had destined for him. The King found all the dishes so much to his taste that he gave 500 rupees to the eunuch who brought them, and double that amount to the kitchen.

When the King goes to the mosque in his *pallankeen* one of his sons follows on horseback, and all the Princes and officers of the household on foot. Those who are Muhammadans wait for him upon the top of the steps to the mosque, and when he is about to come out they precede him to the gate of the palace. Eight elephants march in front of him, four carrying two men each, one to guide the elephant, and the other, seated on its back, carries a standard attached to a hand pike. The four other elephants carry a seat or species of throne on their backs,[1] one of which is square, another round, one covered and another closed with glass of many kinds. When the King goes out he has generally 500 or 600 men for his bodyguard, each man being armed with a kind of hand pike. They attach fireworks to the iron blade; these consist of two rockets crossed, each of the thickness of the arm, and a foot in length; when ignited these will carry the hand pike 500 yards.[2] The King is also followed by 300 or 400

[1] *Howdah.*

[2] Rockets were used, and often proved most effective, in battle. It is said that the cause of Dárá Sháh's descending from his elephant at the critical moment when engaged with Murád and Aurangzeb (see Book II, chap. ii) was that the elephant had been struck by a rocket, which rendered it unmanageable.

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matchlock men, who are timid and unskilful in firing, and a number of cavalry of no greater merit. One hundred of our European soldiers would scarcely have any difficulty in vanquishing 1000 of these Indian soldiers; but it is true, on the other hand, that they would have much difficulty in accustoming themselves to so abstemious a life as theirs. For the horseman as well as the infantry soldier supports himself with a little flour kneaded with water and black sugar, of which they make small balls; and in the evening, whenever they have the necessaries, they make *khichri*,[1] which consists of rice cooked with a grain of the above name in water with a little salt. When eating it they first dip the ends of their fingers in melted butter, and such is the ordinary food of both soldiers and the poor people. To which it should be added that the heat would kill our soldiers, who would be unable to remain in the heat of the sun throughout the day as these Indians do. I should say *en passant* that the peasants have for their sole garment a scrap of cloth to cover those parts which natural modesty requires should be concealed; and that they are reduced to great poverty, because if the Governors become aware that they possess any property they seize it straightway by right or by force. You may see in INDIA whole provinces like deserts, from whence the peasants have fled on account of the oppression of the Governors. Under cover of the fact that they are themselves Muhammadans, they persecute these poor idolaters to the utmost, and if any of the latter become Muhammadans it is in order not to work any more; they become soldiers or *Fakirs*, who are people who make profession of having renounced

[1] See p. 282.

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the world, and live upon alms; but in reality they are all great rascals. It is estimated that there are in INDIA 800,000 Muhammadan *Fakirs*, and 1,200,000 among the idolaters, of whom I shall speak farther on.

Once a fortnight the King goes out to hunt, and while *en route* he is always mounted on his elephant, as also while the chase lasts. All the beasts which he shoots are driven within musket range of his elephant. Ordinarily these are lions, tigers, deer, and gazelles—for, as for wild boars, he as a good Muhammadan does not wish to see them. On his return he uses a *pallankeen*, and there is the same guard and the same order as when he goes to the mosque, save that at the chase there are 200 or 300 horsemen who ride before him in confused ranks.

As for the Princesses, whether they are the wives of the King, his daughters, or his sisters, they never leave the palace except when they go to the country for a few days' change of air and scene. Some of them go, but rarely, to visit the ladies of the nobles, as for example the wife of ZAFAR KHÁN, who is the King's aunt. This is not done except by the special permission of the King. It is not here as in PERSIA where the Princesses only make their visits at night, accompanied by a great number of eunuchs, who drive away all persons whom they meet on the road. But at the court of the GREAT MOGUL the ladies generally go out at nine o'clock in the morning, and have only three or four eunuchs to accompany them, and ten or twelve female slaves who act as ladies of honour. The Princesses are carried in *pallankeens* covered with embroidered tapestries, and every *pallankeen* is followed by a small carriage which can only contain one person. It is

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drawn by two men, and the wheels are not more than a foot in diameter. The object in taking these carriages is, that when the Princesses arrive at the houses they are going to visit, the men who carry the *pallankeens* are only allowed to go to the first gate, where the eunuchs compel them to retire, the Princesses then change into the carriages, and are drawn by the ladies of honour to the women's apartments. For, as I have elsewhere remarked, in the houses of the nobles the women's apartments are in the centre, and it is generally necessary to traverse two or three large courts and a garden or two before reaching them.

When these Princesses are married to nobles of the Court they become the rulers of their husbands, who, if they do not live as they desire, and do not act according to their commands, as they possess the power of approaching the King whenever they wish, they persuade him to do what they please, to the disadvantage of their husbands; most frequently asking for them to be deprived of their offices. As it is the custom that the firstborn succeeds to the throne, although he be the son of a slave, immediately that the Princesses of the King's harem become aware that there is one among them with child, they use all conceivable methods to make her have a miscarriage. When I was at PATNA in the year 1666, SHÁISTÁ KHÁN's surgeon, who is a half-caste (*mestiv*) Portuguese, assured me that the Princess, wife of SHÁISTÁ KHÁN, in one month had caused miscarriages to eight women of his harem, not permitting any children but her own to survive.

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CHAPTER X[1]

The GREAT MOGUL *orders all his jewels to be shown to the Author.*

ON the first day of November 1665 I went to the palace for the purpose of taking leave of the King, but he said that he did not wish me to depart without having seen his jewels, and until I had witnessed the grandeur of his *fête*.[2]

The day following the great morning five or six officers from the King, and others on behalf of *Nawáb* ZAFAR KHÁN, came to tell me that the King had sent for me. Immediately on my arrival at the Court the two custodians of the King's jewels, of whom I have elsewhere spoken,[3] accompanied me into the presence of his Majesty; and after I had made him the ordinary salutation, they conducted me into a small apartment, which is at one of the ends of the hall where the King was seated on his throne, and from whence he was

[1] This very important chapter and the next are altogether omitted in the English translation by John Phillips, 1684.

[2] Joret (*J. B. Tavernier*, p. 190) sees an inconsistency between this statement and that at the beginning of chap. viii, p. 379. The words as he quotes them support this view, but they are not Tavernier's. To me the two, as I understand Tavernier, appear perfectly consistent with one another. Prof. Joret quotes, it should be added, as from chap. ix, but that is a misprint for chap. x.

[3] See Book I, chap. viii, p. 135.

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able to see us. I found in this apartment AKIL KHÁN, chief of the jewel treasury, who, when he saw us, ordered four of the King's eunuchs to go for the jewels, which were brought in two large wooden trays lacquered with gold leaf, and covered with small cloths made expressly for the purpose—one of red velvet and the other of green brocaded velvet. After these trays were uncovered, and all the pieces had been counted three times over, a list was prepared by three scribes who were present. For the Indians do everything with great circumspection and patience, and when they see any one who acts with precipitation, or becomes angry, they gaze at him without saying anything, and smile as at a madman.

The first piece which AKIL KHÁN placed in my hands was the great diamond, which is a round rose, very high at one side.[1] At the basal margin it has a small notch and a little flaw inside. Its water is beautiful, and it weighs three hundred and nineteen and a half (319½) *ratis*, which are equal to two hundred and eighty (280) of our carats—the *rati* being $\frac{7}{8}$th of our carat. When MIR JUMLÁ, who betrayed the King of GOLCONDA, his master, presented this stone to SHÁH JAHÁN, to whose side he attached himself,[2] it was then

[1] A *resumé* of all the information regarding this important stone, the so-called "Great Mogul," will be found in an appendix. It may be mentioned here that this allusion to the form of the stone as a "rose" appears to have given rise to the erroneous idea with one author, and those who have followed him, that it had a roseate tinge.

[2] Bernier's reference to this incident is as follows: "At first he (Mir Jumlá) presented to him (Sháh Jahán) that great diamond which is esteemed matchless, giving him to understand that the precious stones of Golconda were quite other things than those rocks of Kandahár; that there it was where the war ought to be made, to get the possession of and to go as far as Cape Comorin." (*History of the Late Revolution*, etc., vol. i, p. 44.)

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in the rough, and weighed nine hundred (900) *ratis*, which are equivalent to seven hundred and eighty-seven and a half (787½) carats; and it had several flaws.

If this stone had been in Europe it would have been treated in a different manner, for some good pieces would have been taken from it, and it would have weighed more than it does, instead of which it has been all ground down. It was the *Sieur* HORTENSIO BORGIO,[1] a Venetian, who cut it, for which he was badly rewarded; for when it was cut he was reproached with having spoilt the stone, which ought to have retained a greater weight; and instead of paying him for his work, the King fined him ten thousand (10,000) rupees, and would have taken more if he had possessed it. If the *Sieur* HORTENSIO had understood his trade well, he would have been able to take a large piece from this stone without doing injury to the King, and without having had so much trouble grinding it; but he was not a very accomplished diamond cutter.[2]

[1] Bernier mentions but does not name a jeweller who took refuge at the Mogul's Court after having cheated all the monarchs of Europe with his "*doublets*." He was, however, a Frenchman, while Hortensio was an Italian, and therefore King is probably mistaken when he suggests their identity.

[2] I cannot understand this statement in the light that Mr. King seems to have done, namely, that Hortensio might have defrauded the Mogul by taking off a large piece. It simply means, I think, that Hortensio might with advantage have cleaved the stone instead of grinding it; the pieces so cleaved would then have been the property of the Mogul, not the perquisite of Hortensio. (See *Natural History of Precious Stones*, Bohn's Ed., 1870, p. 78 *n.*) In an appendix I have dealt with the stories which, to have any reasonable possibility, must have referred to the breaking up of the original large stone, as, after Tavernier's time, the stone of 280 carats could not, as is often stated, have been made to break up into three whose united weights were equal to nearly twice that amount; but the statement in the text here is

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After I had fully examined this splendid stone, and returned it into the hands of AKIL KHÁN, he showed me another stone, pear-shaped, of good form and fine water, and also three other table diamonds, two clear, and the other with little black spots. Each weighed fifty-five (55) to sixty (60) *ratis*, and the pear sixty-two and a half (62½). Subsequently he showed me a jewel of twelve diamonds, each stone of 15 to 16 *ratis*, and all roses. In the middle a heart-shaped rose of good water, but with three small flaws, and this rose weighed about 35 or 40 *ratis*.

Also a jewel with seventeen diamonds, half of them table and half rose, the largest of which could not weigh more than seven (7) or eight (8) *ratis*, with the exception of the one in the middle, which weighed about sixteen (16). All these stones are of first-class water, clean and of good form, and of the most beautiful kind ever found.

Also two grand pear-shaped pearls, one (weighing) about seventy (70) *ratis*, a little flattened on both sides, and of beautiful water and good form.

Also a pearl button, which might weigh from fifty-five (55) to sixty (60) *ratis*, of good form and good water.

Also a round pearl of great perfection, a little flat on one side, which weighs fifty-six (56) *ratis*. I ascertained that to be the precise weight, and that SHÁH ABBÁS II, King of PERSIA, sent it as a present to the GREAT MOGUL.

clearly against the supposition that the large stone was otherwise treated than by grinding down from 787½ to 280 carats. That the natives knew how to cleave diamonds is abundantly proved in Book II, chap. xv, where Tavernier says they understood the art better than Europeans.

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Also three other round pearls, each of twenty-five (25) to twenty-eight (28) *ratis*, or thereabouts, but the water of which tends to yellow.

Also a perfectly round pearl of thirty-six and a half (36½) *ratis*, of a lively white, and perfect in every respect. It is the only jewel which AURANGZEB, who reigns at present, has himself purchased on account of its beauty, for the rest either came to him from DÁRÁ SHÁH, his eldest brother, and which he had appropriated, after he had caused his head to be cut off,[1] or they were presents made to him after he ascended the throne. I have elsewhere remarked that this King has no great regard for jewels, priding himself only on being the great zealot of the law of MUHAMMAD.

AKIL KHÁN also placed in my hands (for he allowed me to examine all at my ease) two other pearls, perfectly round and equal, each of which weighed twenty-five and a quarter (25¼) *ratis*. One is slightly yellow, but the other is of a very lively water, and the most beautiful that can be seen. It is true, as I have else-

[1] This statement is important, as we know that Sháh Jahán, who was still alive at this time in prison, had with him a great number of his precious stones, which were not handed over to Aurangzeb till after his death, when Jahánárá Begum presented him with a gold basin full of them (see pp. 342 and 344). According to Bernier, however, some had been previously given to Aurangzeb by Sháh Jahán during his lifetime. Moreover, Aurangzeb, in a letter written to Sháh Jahán at the time when he arrested him, acknowledged the gift ! of Dárá's jewels by letter. Dárá was left about £4,000,000 worth of gold and jewels by his grandfather, Asaf Khán, who passed over his own sons Sháistá Khán and Nawáz Khán—perhaps because the Mogul, according to custom, might have declared himself the heir, so that they would have derived no benefit. But Asaf consoled himself with the reflection that he left his sons in good and highly lucrative positions, which was a better provision for them.

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where said, that the Prince of ARABIA, who has taken MUSCAT from the Portuguese, has a pearl which surpasses in beauty all others in the world; for it is perfectly round, and so white and lively that it looks as though it was transparent, but it only weighs fourteen (14) carats. There is not a single monarch in ASIA who has not asked this Prince of ARABIA to sell him this pearl.[1]

Also two chains, one of pearls and rubies of different shapes pierced like the pearls; the other of pearls and emeralds, round and bored. All the pearls are round and of diverse waters, and from ten to twelve (10 to 12) *ratis* each in weight. In the middle of the chain of rubies there is a large emerald of the "old rock,"[2] cut into a rectangle, and of high colour, but with many flaws. It weighs about thirty (30) *ratis*. In the middle of the chain of emeralds there is an Oriental amethyst,[3] a long table, weighing about forty (40) *ratis*, and the perfection of beauty.

Also a *balass*[4] ruby cut in *cabuchon*, of fine colour and clean, pierced at the apex, and weighing seventeen (17) *melscals*. Six *melscals* make one *once* (French).[5]

Also another *cabuchon* ruby of perfect colour, but slightly flawed and pierced at the apex, which weighs twelve *melscals*.

[1] See Book II, chap. xx.

[2] Precious stones were denominated "of the old rock" (*rocca velha*), when they exhibited more or less perfect crystalline forms, being considered more developed than those with amorphous forms.

[3] The "Oriental" amethyst is a purple sapphire, and when perfect is of great beauty.

[4] *Balet* in the original. (See p. 382, *n.*)

[5] *Melscals* = *mishkals*. (See Appendix, p. 418.)

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Also an Oriental topaz[1] of very high colour cut in eight panels, which weighs six *melscals*, but on one side it has a small white fog within.

These, then, are the jewels of the GREAT MOGUL, which he ordered to be shown to me as a special favour which he has never manifested to any other *Frank;* and I have held them all in my hand, and examined them with sufficient attention and leisure to be enabled to assure the reader that the description which I have just given is very exact and faithful, as is that of the thrones, which I have also had sufficient time to contemplate thoroughly.

[1] The Oriental topaz is a yellow sapphire (corundum). It was probably this topaz which Aurangzeb wore at his coronation. (See p. 372, *n.*) It was also mentioned by Bernier. Its weight, as given on page 372, was $181\frac{1}{8}$ *ratis*, or $157\frac{1}{4}$ carats (should be $158\frac{1}{2}$ carats), hence these should = 6 *melscals*, and the *melscal* = $30\frac{3}{16}$ *ratis*, or $26\frac{5}{12}$ carats. To the *mishkal* of Baber a weight of 40 *ratis* is attributed, so that either Baber's *mishkal* must have weighed absolutely one-third more than Tavernier's, or Tavernier's *rati* must have exceeded Baber's by one-third. The latter will be shown to be the case. (See Appendix.)

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CHAPTER XI[1]

Terms of the passport which the Nawáb SHÁISTÁ KHÁN *sent to the Author, with some letters which he wrote to him, and the replies to them, in which the style of these countries manifests itself.*

I COME now to the passport which the *Nawáb* SHÁISTÁ KHÁN gave me, and the letters which I wrote to him in reference to my affairs, and it is as much by these letters as by the replies which he made to me that the reader will be enabled to comprehend the style and manner of writing among the Indians. I also received a passport from the King himself, which his Majesty had already given me through ZAFAR KHÁN,[2] his uncle, to whom I returned it after having read it, because it was not couched in the language which I wished. I desired it to be without restriction, equally full and in the same style as that which I had received from the King of PERSIA, in virtue of which I had been exempt from all dues both in going and coming, whether I sold or did not sell; because the

[1] This chapter is omitted in the English translation by John Phillips, 1684.

[2] Giafer Kan in the original. He was brother of Arjamund Begum, afterwards called *Mumtáz-i-Mahal*, the lady for whom the Táj was built by her husband, Sháh Jahán. There is frequent mention of Zafar Khán in these pages, though he is not often referred to in other histories of India.

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passport offered me on the part of the GREAT MOGUL was limited, and in the event of sale it required that I should pay custom dues on whatever I had sold. Although ZAFAR KHÁN assured me that it was the most favourable passport of this kind which the King had ever given, and that according to custom it could not be otherwise, nevertheless I was unwilling to accept it, and contented myself with that which I had held for some years from SHÁISTÁ KHÁN, which sufficed for me, and was as much esteemed as that of the King, or more so. It is true that the King did not require that I should pay any duty on account of what I had sold to him, and that the matter was done graciously.

Copy of the letter which the Author wrote to SHÁISTÁ KHÁN, *uncle of the* GREAT MOGUL, *on the 29th of May 1659.*

The least of the servants of your Highness, who prays to God for the prosperity of your Greatness, JEAN BAPTISTE TAVERNIER, a Frenchman, presents a request to your liberal bounty. You who are the Lieutenant of the King, who govern as his relative all the Kingdoms which are subject to the rule of his Majesty, who has placed under your direction the most important affairs of his Crown, the Prince invincible, SHÁISTÁ KHÁN, whom may God keep in his care.

It is now some years since I had the honour of presenting to your Highness, then Governor of the Kingdom of GUJARÁT, and residing in AHMADÁBÁD, some large pearls and other rarities, which were deemed worthy of your treasury, for which I received

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a just payment and magnificent liberality. At the same time I received your instructions to return to EUROPE, to search for other rarities and bring them to you:[1] this I have done during the five or six years which I have spent traversing many European countries, where I have met with many beautiful objects and rare curiosities, which are worthy of being presented to your Highness. And as I heard, when at the Court of the King of PERSIA, that there were wars going on in INDIA, I sent by one of my servants the aforesaid effects and rarities by way of MASULIPATAM; and when I reached SURAT some days ago, I received intelligence of the safe arrival of all.[2] If his Highness is willing to buy the aforesaid rarities, and desires that I should bring them into his presence, I beg to be given an order by which I shall be able to travel to him without any one causing me trouble *en route*. But if your Highness does not wish me to go to you I shall go to some other place. However, I await your orders at SURAT, praying God that He will keep you always in all kinds of prosperity.

Translation of the first letter which SHÁISTÁ KHÁN *wrote to the Author in reply to the above.*

GREAT GOD—

To the beloved of fortune, support of virtue, Monsieur TAVERNIER, Frenchman, my dear friend, know that your letter has been delivered to me, by

[1] These commands were given in 1654.

[2] What the postal arrangements could have been between places so distant as Masulipatam and Surat we can only guess—probably letters between the factories were conveyed mainly by sea. Special runners were employed by the Native Princes.

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which I have learnt of your return to SURAT, and that you have brought with you what I asked. I have carefully considered all that you have written to me, with which I am much contented; wherefore, on receiving this, you should arrange to come to me, together with those things which you have brought; and be assured that I will render you all possible courtesy, and all the aid and profit that it is possible for you to wish for. Moreover, I send you the passport you have asked me for, recommending you to come quickly in order that I may see the things described in your letter. The quicker you are able to come the better, wherefore write more?

The 11th of *Chouval*, in the year of Muhammad 1069.

This which follows is written in SHÁISTÁ KHÁN'S *own hand—*

The chosen one among my most beloved, your request has been delivered to me. God bless you and reward you for having held to your word and kept your promise. Come quickly to me, and be assured that you will receive all sorts of contentment and profit from me.

This which follows is contained round his seal—

The Prince of Princes, the servant of the King, victorious AURANGZEB.

Translation of the passport which SHÁISTÁ KHÁN *sent to the Author.*

GREAT GOD—

To all the agents and officers of the customs and tolls, to all the guardians of the roads, both great and

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small, between the port of SURAT and the Court of JAHÁNÁBÁD. As Monsieur TAVERNIER, Frenchman, the most exalted and beloved of us, who is a servant of my household, comes to me from the port of SURAT, let no one, whomsoever he may be, and on whatsoever pretext, interrupt his way or his journey, or cause him inconvenience or trouble, but permit him to pass in all safety, so that he may be able to come into my presence with comfort; and let each of the abovenamed see that he is accompanied through their respective jurisdictions, so as to facilitate his journey. I charge you specially with this matter, and let no one act otherwise.

Done the 11th of *Chouval*, in the year of Muhammad 1069.

Translation of the second letter written by SHÁISTÁ KHÁN *to the Author.*

To the most expert of engineers and the cream of good fellows, Monsieur TAVERNIER, Frenchman, know that I regard you as one of my dearest favourites and well beloved. As I have before written to you to come to JAHÁNÁBÁD and to bring with you the rarities which you have for me, now, by the favour and grace of the King, I have been appointed his Viceroy and Governor in the Kingdom of Deccan. Immediately on the receipt of his Majesty's orders I set out, on the 25th of the month of *Chouval;* for this reason it is no longer desirable that you should come to JAHÁNÁBÁD, but rather that you should make your way as soon as possible to BURHÁNPUR, where, with God's assistance, I shall arrive in the course of two months or thereabouts. I trust you will act in accordance with that which I write to you.

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Reply of the Author to this second letter.

He who prays to God for your Highness, and for the increase of your greatness and prosperity, JEAN BAPTISTE TAVERNIER, Frenchman, etc., as in the first letter.

I have received the honour of the commands which your Highness has deigned to bestow on the least of your servants. Salutation to the *Nawáb*, the Prince of Princes. I gave myself the honour some days past to write by the messenger of your Highness, that after the rains I should not fail to go unto your presence at JAHÁNÁBÁD. Now that you direct that it is to be at BURHÁNPUR, I shall follow your orders and carry with me all the rarities which I have destined for your Highness's service.

Done the 10th of the month *Huge.*

Translation of the third letter written by SHÁISTÁ KHÁN *to the Author.*

The most beloved of my favourites, Monsieur TAVERNIER, Frenchman, know that I keep you fresh in my memory. The letter which you wrote me by my messenger has been received, and I have read it word by word. You write that the rains and bad roads have prevented your coming, and that after the winter you will come to seek me. Now that the rains are over,[1] and that I hope that in twenty-five or twenty-six days I shall be at AURANGÁBÁD, on receipt of this hasten to come to me. I believe you will not fail.

[1] *I.e.* the rainy season or south-east monsoon.

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Done the 5th of *Sefer*,[1] in the first year of the reign of AURANGZEB.[2]

This which follows was in the hand of the Nawáb.

Dear friend, you will not fail to act according as I have written.

Reply of the Author to this third letter.

The least of the servants of your Highness, JEAN BAPTISTE TAVERNIER, Frenchman, prays God for the prosperity of your person, you who are the Lieutenant of the King, the channel by which his favours are distributed, of whom the title is venerable and full of respect, who are the near relative of the King, the Governor-General of his Kingdoms, to whom he refers the accomplishment of all matters of importance. You who are the Prince of Princes, I the servant of your Highness present this petition. Having arrived in this country in obedience to your orders, I have wholly trusted in your favour; and when I believed myself to be most laden with your bounty, I fell into the nets of MIRZA-ARAB, Governor of SURAT, for, having received the latest orders of your Highness, I went to take leave of him to go to make my salutation to you. He replied that he had written to the King in reference to my person, [and that in consequence he could not give me permis-

[1] The month *Sefer* or *Safar*, as Chardin has it, is the second month of the Persian lunar year.

[2] Tavernier elsewhere (p. 356) says Aurangzeb ascended the throne 1660, and hence Prof. Joret remarks that consequently he would have remained in Surat on this occasion more than fifteen months, which is inadmissible, as on p. 409 he says six months. This, adds Prof. Joret, is an almost insoluble difficulty. There is, however, a simple solution, namely, that Tavernier was in error in naming 1660 as the year of Aurangzeb's coronation, it having in fact been 1659. (See p. 371 *n.*; see also p. 31 *n.*)

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sion to depart till he had received the reply of his Majesty. I represented to him that, having nothing with me, and that at my arrival in this port, not having been found possessed of any merchandise of importance passing through the customs, I was astonished that he had written to the King in reference to my person].[1] Disregarding all my arguments he did not alter his decision, and refused to give me permission to leave SURAT. Now all is in the hands of your Highness, to whom it is due that I should obey his commands, and that a person like MIRZA-ARAB should not be able to oppose his wishes with so formal a resistance.

Besides, not having my effects with me, as I have written to your Highness, my delay in SURAT causes me considerable loss, which must give you displeasure. Moreover, it will prevent merchants from coming to this port, and that will inflict considerable injury on the Kingdom. As for myself, I am resolved to burn my effects or throw them into the sea rather than allow any one but your Highness to see them. I trust that the great authority of your Highness will withdraw me speedily from the trouble I am in, and will enable me to go to pay you my respects. And I hope that the news of the favours which I have received from your Highness, when it shall reach France, will cause many great merchants to do business in this country, and then INDIA will know that the rare goods of the French and their precious curiosities put to shame all that has hitherto appeared in the country. This is what I deemed it necessary to write to your Highness. Dated at SURAT the 25th of the month *Rabi* and *Auel*.

[1] The portion between brackets is omitted in the edition of 1713, hough given in those of 1676 and 1679.

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All these letters and replies explain the reason why I delayed nearly six months[1] at SURAT. At length there came an express order from the *Nawáb* to the Governor of the town to allow me to depart, or otherwise he would have to resign his office. The Governor of SURAT was so much annoyed at being baffled that when I took leave of him he did not deign to look at me, of which I held him willingly quitted.

In consequence of the news which I had received that the *Nawáb* had parted from AURANGÁBÁD, I found him with the army in DECCAN, where he had besieged SHOLÁPUR,[2] one of the towns of *Raja* SIVAJI. I sold him what I had intended for him, and during the time that I was with him he gave orders that I should lack nothing, neither for my own mouth nor the feed of my horses. They brought me each day four trays of meat and two of fruit and sweetmeats; these for the most part fell to the share of my servants, because I was seldom permitted to eat in my tent.

The *Nawáb* gave orders that five or six *Rajas* or idolatrous Princes whom he had in his army should entertain me in their own manner. But their rice and vegetables, which constitute, as I have said, all their dishes, were so full of pepper, ginger, and other spices that it was impossible for me to eat them, and I left the repast with a very good appetite.

During this time the *Nawáb* fired a mine, which so much alarmed the inhabitants of SHOLÁPUR that they

[1] Tavernier's account of this same visit on p. 30 seems somewhat inconsistent with this, as he implies there was no delay, while the contents of the letters bear out this specific statement of six months (see p. 407 *n.*)

[2] *Choupar* in the original, on p. 31 written *Choupart.* It appears to be the same as the modern Sholápur in the Deccan.

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yielded by agreement, on which account the soldiers, who thought to take the town by assault, were much annoyed, seeing themselves deprived of the hope of the loot which they had anticipated. On my departure the *Nawáb* wanted to pay me, but having represented to him that I had to pass through a disturbed country, and had to fear the followers of both armies, I asked him to allow me to draw the money at DAULATÁBÁD[1]; this he granted willingly, and on an order which he gave me I was paid on the day following my arrival in that town. The treasurer who counted out the money to me said that he had received the advice four days previously by an express, and that the *Nawáb* had commanded him to pay me promply; this shows the great precision of the Indians in matters of trade to satisfy debts without delay.

[1] *Dultabat* in the original, for Daulatábád, also called Deogir (see p. 160). Bernier describes this town as being fifteen or sixteen days' journey from Golconda, and calls it the capital of Deccan. (*History of the late Revolution*, etc., p. 37.) According to the statement on p. 33, this payment was made at Aurangábád, and by no means promptly, or with satisfaction to Tavernier. This is but another inconsistency in the narrative.

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APPENDIX

On the values of Coins, Weights, and Measures referred to by Tavernier.

I LIMIT myself here mainly to an interpretation of the values given by our author, not having space for any wider discussion of the question. He has been quoted as an authority, not always correctly, as I believe, in support of particular views, especially as to the value of the rupee. I think it can be demonstrated from the numerous relations which he gives between Indian coins and various European ones that it cannot have had a less average value than 2s. 3d. Sometimes, however, the evidence tends in the direction of a greater and sometimes of a less value.

The discrepancies are in part due to the varying values of coins bearing the same names in different provinces, and partly to the fact that European coins in Oriental countries, and Oriental coins in countries not their own, had two values—one the intrinsic, which was ascertained at the mints, and sometimes by actual conversion into the coin of the country, and the other the exchange value of the coins themselves when used as a means of purchasing in the marts.

This Appendix is supplementary to the foot-notes, but is at the same time intended to give a general and connected view of the subject.

French Money.

12 *Deniers* (money of account) = 1 *Sol* (*Sous Tournois*).
20 *Sols* = 1 *Livre* (money of account).
60 „ or 3 *Livres* = 1 *Écu.*

2 *Louis d'or*, old = 16s. 9d., new = £1 : 0 : 6 ; both according to Sir Isaac Newton. (*Assays, etc., of Coins at London Mint, before* 1717.)

It is of the utmost importance to establish beyond question of doubt the value of the above as they were employed by Tavernier.

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Sir Isaac Newton's estimate of the value of the *écu* in 1717 was 4s. 6d., and the very frequent relations given between it and various other European coins by Tavernier clearly indicate, as will be apparent in speaking of them, and as has been shown already in the foot-notes, that a less value cannot be ascribed to it. Whence it follows that what Tavernier understood as the *livre*, or $\frac{1}{3}$d of an *écu*, had a value of 1s. 6d., and the same value is indicated by its relations to other well-known coins—as, for instance, the Dutch *guilder* (florin). From this again we obtain the deduction that the *sol*, as he uses it, which, from its small value, gives that of other coins with great nicety, was worth 0.9 of a penny; in other words, 10 sols = 9d.[1]

Spanish Money.

The *piastre* and *reale* or *real*, as determined by Sir Isaac Newton, and as valued by Tavernier, were of equal value with the *écu*, being therefore worth 4s. 6d. Tavernier states that the former was equal to two rupees (*Persian Travels*, p. 238), *i.e.* 4s. 6d. also.

The double *pistole* or *Frederic d'or* was worth from £1 : 12 : 6$\frac{1}{2}$ to £1 : 13 : 3, the latter being Sir Isaac Newton's estimate. The single *pistole* he valued at 16s. 9d.

Portuguese Money.

Crusado.—According to Sir Isaac Newton, in 1717, the *crusado* = 2s. 10d. Other authors place its value as low as 2s. 3d., and there are various intermediate valuations.

Italian Money.

Croisart of Genoa and *Sequin* of Venice.

The *croisart* is once mentioned by Tavernier, Book I, chap. xiii; its value seems to have been about 6s. 6d. The *sequin*, according to Sir Isaac Newton, was worth 9s. 5.7d., and according to Yule and Burnell, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, 111d., or 9s. 3d.

German Money.

Gulden, *Rixdollars*,[2] properly Reichsthalers (*Richedales* of Tavernier), and *Ducats*.

[1] The above computations, as well as those of the values of Indian and Persian coins, although made independently, agree exactly with those which are given in a table in the English translation of Tavernier, by J. Phillips, dated 1684.

[2] The rixdollar was also a money of account in several different countries.

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The *gulden*, of which there were several different kinds, ranged from about 2s. 2d. to 2s. 4d., the double *gulden* being equal to about twice that amount. The rixdollars, of which there were many kinds, averaged, according to Sir Isaac Newton, about 4s. 7d. in intrinsic value; being, therefore, worth slightly more than the *écu*, or French crown.

The *ducats* averaged about 4s. 9d.

Dutch Money.

Gulden (*guilder* of Tavernier) or florin.—Its value in currency seems to have been about 1s. 9d. to 1s. 9½d., and to the *livre* it bore the proportion of 5 to 6, which gives a value for the latter of very nearly 1s. 6d.

Indian Money.

50-80 *Cowrie* (*corie* of Tavernier), shells (*Cypræa moneta*), = 1 *paisá*.

35-40 *Bádám* (*baden* of Tavernier), bitter almonds (*Amygdalus communis*, var. *amara*) = 1 *paisá*.

46-56 *Paisá* (*pecha* of Tavernier) = 1 rupee (p. 27).

14-14¼ Rupees = 1 gold rupee or gold *mohur*.

Also

Fanam (*fano* of Tavernier) = 4½d.; but some, of which six only went to the *écu*, were worth double, or 9d.

Pardao = 27 *sols*.

Pagoda, new = 3½ rupees; old = 4½ rupees and 2⅓ *écus*.

Passing the bitter almonds and cowries, we come to the *paisá* (or *pecha* of Tavernier). He says that it was worth about 2 French *liards*, but that there were coins of half a *paisá*, 2 and 4 *paisá*. At Surat 49 to 50, and sometimes only 46, *paisá* went to the rupee; and at Agra, nearer the copper mines, 55 to 56. Taking it at the average of 50, therefore, this coin was worth the 50th part of the rupee,[1] and it was also worth the 20th part of the *mahmúdi*. If the rupee, as shown below, was worth 2s. 3d., then Tavernier's *paisá* was worth .54 of a penny; but with the *mahmúdi* at 9d. its value would be only 0.45d. The former appears to be the safer figure to adopt, owing to the various relations given by Tavernier from which we can determine the value of the rupee.

The Rupee.—The simplest of these relations (*vide* Book I,

[1] Thevenot and Mandelslo make somewhat similar statements, but contradict themselves in other passages.

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chap. II, and p. 385) is 2 rupees = 1 *écu*, or 4s, 6d.[1] ∴ 1 rupee = 2s. 3d. Tavernier frequently repeats his calculations in rupees, separately also in *livres;* these always indicate a ratio of 2 to 3, and, as we have shown his *livre* to have been equal to 1s. 6d., the rupee would again be 2s. 3d.[2]

In terms of the Spanish *reale*, 100 of which = 213 to 215 rupees, the latter must have had the intrinsic value of at least 2s. 1½d., and in terms of the rixdollar or reichsthaler, 2s. 1½d. These alone prove an absolute intrinsic value of upwards of 2s. 1d. The relations with Persian coins, to which reference has been made in the foot-notes, and the values of which are discussed below, support the ascription of values of from 2s. 1d. to 2s. 3d. for the rupee.

The *gold rupee*, or *gold mohur*.—All the evidence goes to show that this coin, as known to Tavernier, was worth at least from 31s. 6d. to 32s.; its equivalent was 14 to 14¼ rupees, hence we may again deduce a value of at least 2s. 3d. for the rupee.

The *fanam* is of no importance in so far as Tavernier's calculations are concerned.

Pardao.—In three places (Book I, chap. xiii, and Book II, chaps. xii and xxiii) Tavernier gives for the *pardao* the value of 27 *sols* = 2s. 0.3d.; this is less than what is ascribed to it about this period in the *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, namely, 2s. 6d.

Pagoda.—Tavernier gives a number of different values for this coin. Thus, New P. = 3½ rupees, say 7s. 10½d.; Old P. = 4½ rupees (Book II, chap. xviii), say 10s. 1½d.; also = 7½ *livres* (Book II, chap. xxiv) = 11s. 9d., or 2⅓ *écus* (Book I, chap. xix) = 10s. 6d. In the table in the English translation above referred to, the *pagoda* = the *demi-pistol*, or 8s. 3d. The average value was therefore about 9s.

Persian Money.

2 *sháhis* = 1 *mahmúdi.*

2 *mahmúdis* = 1 *abási.*

5 *abásis* = 1 "*or*" ? (money of account).

50 *abásis* = 1 *toman* (money of account).

Sháhi (*chaez* of Tavernier).—According to Tavernier (p. 24), 200 *sháhis* = 29½ rupees, so that with the rupee at 2s. 3d. the value

[1] Bernier says the same.

[2] Terry gives the value of 2s. 3d. for ordinary rupees, and 2s. 9d. for the best (*Voyage, etc.*, London, 1777, pp. 67, 113, 167). Fryer and Mandelslo also give the value at 2s. 3d. Mr. Keene's ascription of only 1s. 3d. to the rupee seems to be based on an incorrect valuation of the *livre*, for which Tavernier cannot be held responsible. (See *History of Hindustan*, p. 211).

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of one *shâhi* would be 3.98d., say 4d. As he elsewhere states the relation to French money to be 10 *shâhis* = 46 *sols* and 1 *liard*, ∴ 1 *shâhi* = 4½d., and Mandelslo (*Voyages*, English translation, p. 8) gives the value of one *shâhi* to be nearly 5d., I conclude, although the value is given at only 2⅛d. by Kelly in the *Universal Cambist*, that in Tavernier's time its value was from 4d. to 5d., say 4½d.

Mahmúdi (*mamoudi* of Tavernier).—Hence the *mahmúdi* would be worth between 8d. and 9d. Both Tavernier and Fryer represent it, however, as being worth ⅔ths of a rupee, so that with the latter at 2s. 3d. its value would be 10½d.; and Mandelslo (English ed., pp. 13 and 68) gives it the value of 1s., which would make the rupee 2s. 6d. Its range in value, therefore, was from 8d. to 1s.

Abási.—Tavernier, in his account of Persian money, says 1 *abási* = 18 *sols* 6 *deniers*, which would be about 1s. 4.65d. Mandelslo (p. 8) says 3 = 1 *écu*, and as we must give a value of at least 4s. 6d. to the *écu*, the *abási* would be worth 1s. 6d.; so confirming the intermediate values of the *shâhi* (*chaez*) (4½d.) and of the *mahmúdi* (9d.) above given.

In his *Persian Travels*, 1st ed., 1676, p. 122, Tavernier states that 1 *or* = 5 *abásis*, or about 6s. 11½d. with the *abási* at 1s. 4.65d., or 7s. 6d. with the *abási* at 1s. 6d. The *or* may have been a name used by the Franks much as we use the slang term "tin"; it corresponded to the Persian *zar*, which simply means money,[1] but Tavernier here gives it a definite value.

Toman.—Though generally regarded as a money of account, it is sometimes spoken of as though it had actually been a coin. At 50 *abásis*, as above, its value was £3 : 15s.; but Tavernier states that in India its value was 29½ rupees, which at 2s. 3d. would be only £3 : 6 : 4½. Tavernier also states that the *toman* = 46 *livres*, which at 1s. 6d. = £3 : 9s. Mandelslo gives it as = 5 *pistoles*, *i.e.* about £4 : 3 : 9. Fryer says £3 : 6 : 8; and Tavernier, in his *Persian Travels*, p. 122, says it = 15 *écus*, which at 4s. 6d. = £3 : 7 : 6. Probably about £3 : 9s. would be a fair average estimate. In 1821, according to Kelly (*Universal Cambist*), it only represented a value of £1 : 16s.

"*Tun*" of Gold.—According to Tavernier (Book III, chap. xxix), the *tun* was equal to 100,000 *gulden* (or Dutch florins), or 120,000 *livres*; and as these were worth 1s. 9d. and 1s. 6d. respectively, the value of the *tun* would be about £9000. I have not been able to find the term in any other work.

[1] Comp. Chardin, *Voyages*, Amsterdam, 1711, vol. iv, 277.

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It is unnecessary to describe other Persian coins here, as they are not mentioned by our author in the Indian portion of his travels.

Chinese Money.

A money of account = 600 *livres* = £45 (see Book II, chap. xxiii, and *Persian Travels*) is referred to by Tavernier as a *pain*, *i.e.* a loaf or cake; probably it was represented in bullion by an ingot, to which the English applied the term "shoe."

WEIGHTS.

French Weights.

1 *grain* = .837 of a grain troy.
24 *grains* = 1 *denier.*
72 „ (= 3 *deniers*) = 1 *gros.*
579 „ = 1 *once* = 482.312 grs. troy.
16 *onces* = 1 *livre* = 1 lb. 4 oz. 1 dwt. 13 gr. troy, or 1 lb. 1 oz. 10⅛ dr. av.

Indian Weights.

Ghúnchi (*gongy*).—The name of the seed of *Abrus precatorius.* 3 = 1 *val* ∴ 1 = 1.95 to 1.98 grs. troy (see *val*); but this value is too high for the ordinary *rati*, and too low for Tavernier's *rati* (see *rati*).

Carat.—In order to determine the value of Tavernier's carat, we may have recourse to one particular diamond of which he makes mention, namely, that belonging to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, which he figures and states weighed 139½ carats. From the foot-notes in Book II, chap. xxii, it will be seen that it is practically certain that this stone is the same as the one now known as the "Austrian Yellow," which weighs, according to Schrauf, 133½ Vienna carats, or 134 modern French carats, the latter differing very slightly from English carats. Hence we might deduce that Tavernier's carats were about 4 per cent lighter than the modern French carat. But the stone may have been polished, and have lost weight, or the difference of 5½ carats may be simply due to improved and more careful means of weighment.

If we could be quite sure that the *melscal* of Tavernier was the orthodox Persian *mishkal*, weighing about 74 grains troy, we should also have a means of testing the value of his carat, because he gives the weight of Aurangzeb's celebrated topaz in one place as 6 *melscals*, and in another as 181⅛ *ratis*, or 157¼ carats (more properly, at the

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proportion of 8 to 7, it should be 158½ carats), the equivalent of which would be 444 grs. troy, and a *rati* consequently would be equal to 2.456 troy grains, and a carat to 2.8 troy grains, or .37 less than the modern carat. Tavernier's *melscal*, however, seems to have been equal to from 80.38 to 83.7 grs. troy (see below), and the carat calculated from the latter equals 3.169 grs. troy—a very close approximation indeed to the modern French carat. From both the above we may conclude that Tavernier's carat differed but slightly, if at all, from the French carat of to-day. (See Preface, vol. ii, for correction.)

The *Rati*.—Tavernier, however, further says that 6 *melscals* = 1 *once*, and, therefore, as the French *once* = 482.312 grs. troy, the *rati* would be 2.66 grs. troy,[1] which is an approximation to its value, namely 2.77 grs. (see Book II, chap. xviii), when calculated at ⅞ths of the modern carat of 3.17 grs. troy; and a still closer approximation, namely 2.74, if we regard, as above, Tavernier's carat as being 4 per cent less than the modern carat. The average of these three gives a value of 2.72, which I conclude may have been about the value of the *rati* uniformly used by Tavernier, but I shall employ the 2.77 grs. as a more definitely arrived at sum in future calculations. This was the pearl *rati*, equal, as he himself tells us, to the *abás* (see Book II, chap. xxi, and *Persian Travels*, p. 238), which was used in Persia for weighing pearls. The value of the *abás*, as given by Kelly in the *Universal Cambist*, is 3.66 diamond, or 2.25 troy grains. This proportion is, I think, incorrect, as 3.66 diamond grs. = 2.9 troy grains, or 1 diamond grain = .7925 gr. troy.

The ordinary *rati* (the seed of the *Abrus precatorius*) varied from 1.75 up to 1.9375, the mean of which is 1.843 grs. troy. Mr. Thomas[2] has finally adopted 1.75 in his calculations. The above mean is identical with the value derived from the *tola* of Bábar of 177 grs. = 96 *ratis*. From the *mishkal* of Bábar Prof. Maskelyne has deduced values of 1.8425 to 1.85 grs. troy for the *rati*. General Cunningham[3] and Mr. Laidlay, by weighment of the seeds, obtained 1.823 and 1.825 grs. troy,[4] or only about ⅘ds of the *rati* of Tavernier. Another weighment by Mr. Blackie in the Bellary District gave an average of 2.142 grs.—the seeds in the south being larger.[5]

[1] The carat, calculated in the same way, would be similarly enhanced, and would amount to 3.043 troy grains, or within 1.27 of the modern value.

[2] *Numismata Orientalia*, New ed., Pt. I, pp. 13-14.

[3] Royal Institution of Great Britain, March 1860. Cf. V. A. Smith, *Jour. As. Soc. Bengal*, Part I, 1884, p. 147.

[4] *Num. Chron.*, vol. xiii, N.S., 1873, pp. 196-197.

[5] *Proced. As. Soc. Bengal*, 1887, p. 222.

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Mangelin.—Seed of *Adenanthera pavonina*, L.; it varied as follows:—

		If carat grains.	If ordinary French grains.
In Ramulkota (Raolconda)	= 7. grs. =	5.55 grs. troy	5.8 grs. troy.
„ Golconda and Bijapúr	= 5½ „	4.36 „	4.6 „
„ Goa	= 5 „	3.96 „	4.185 „

The *Anglo-Indian Glossary* gives the average result of the weighment of 50 seeds of *Adenanthera pavonina* as 4.13 grs. troy; selected seeds gave 5.02 to 5.03 grs. troy.

Val (from Sanskrit *valla*) = 3 seeds of *Abrus precatorius*.
32 *vals* = 1 *tola* (*tole*) ∴ 1 = 5.86 grs. troy nearly (see *tola*).
81 „ = 1 *once* Fr. ∴ 1 *val* = 5.95 grs. troy.

Melscal of Tavernier. Arabic *mithkál* (or *mitskál*).
1 *melscal* = ⅛ of an *once*, or 80.38 grs. troy.
6 „ = 181⅛ *ratis*, or 157¼ (rather 158½) carats.
∴ 1 „ = $30\frac{3}{16}$ *ratis*, or $26\frac{5}{12}$ carats.
$30\frac{3}{16} \times 2.77 = 83.6$ grs. troy; $26\frac{5}{12} \times 3.17 = 83.8$ grs. troy.

The average of these, say 83.7 grs. troy, is considerably in excess of the ordinary Persian *miskhál* of from 73.69 to 74 grs. troy; but it must nevertheless be accepted as representing approximately the *melscal* known to Tavernier.

Tola (*tole* of Tavernier).—1 *tole* = 9 *deniers* 8 grains = 224 French grains = 187.488 troy grains.

The modern British Indian *tola* = 180 grs. troy.

Seer or *Ser* (*serre* of Tavernier).

In Surat	42 *seers* =	34½ *livres*, Book II, chap. xii.
„	40 „ =	34 „ „ „
„	1 *seer* =	¾th *livre*, Book I, chap. ii.
Agra	60 *seers* =	51¾ *livres*, Book II, chap. xii.
Bengal	1 „ =	72 „ — Book III, chap. xv.
„	1 „ =	for amber, etc. = 9 oz. — Book III, chap. xv.

From the above indications of the value of the Surat *seer*, we may conclude that it averaged nearly 13 French *onces* = 14.3 oz. av., and that the Agra *seer* was equal to 13.6 Fr. *onces* = 15.2 oz. av. In reference to the Bengal *seer*, the value 72 *livres* is possibly a copyist's mistake, and is certainly a blunder (see notes in Book III, chap. xv). The small Patna *seer* of 9 *onces* is probably right.

Thevenot, p. 52, gives the equivalent of the Surat *seer* at 14 *onces*, or 35 *tolas*; and Mandelslo, English ed., p. 67, says 40 *seers*

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= 30½ *livres*, therefore 1 = 12.2 *onces*. To the Agra *seer* Thevenot gives the value of 28 *onces*.

Maund, *man*, Hin. (*mein* and *men* of Tavernier).

Tavernier's ordinary maund		= 69 *livres*.
Indigo	,,	53 ,,
Surat	,,	42 *seers*.
,,	,,	40 ,,
,,	(Mandelslo)	40 ,,
,,	(Thevenot)	40 ,,
,,	(Fryer)	42 pounds.

We may therefore conclude that the Surat maund contained about 40 *seers*, at about 13 French *onces* to the *seer*, or 35.5 English pounds avoirdupois.

The maund of Agra contained 60 *seers* of 13.6 *onces*, or about 57 lbs. av. English, which corresponds approximately with a value of 55 lbs. given by Hawkins in 1610.

Measures of Length.

French.

The French *lieue* is generally given by Tavernier as the equivalent of the *coss*, but as he recognises the variability of the latter, it must be considered that the adoption of the European term was determined rather by convenience than by any positive identity having been established by actual measurement. The old *lieue de poste* of France was equal to 2 miles and 743 yards.

Indian Measures.

The Indian measures which we have to investigate are the *tassu* (*tassot* of Tavernier), cubit, *coss*, and *gos*.

24 *tassus* (*tassots*)	= 1 cubit (*aune* of Tavernier).
(5000?) cubits	= 1 *coss* (*cosse*[1] of Tavernier).
4 *coss*	= 1 *gow* (*gos* of Tavernier).

The *tassu* (*tassot*) of Surat, as graphically represented in Book II, chap. xii, and in *Observations sur le Commerce, etc.*, in the "Recueil," is exactly equal to 1⅛ in. English. The cubit of Surat was equal to 24 times that amount, in other words to 27 in. In Book I, chap. ii (see p. 38), the ¼th of a Surat cubit as represented

[1] Misprinted *coste* for *cosse* in Tavernier's first edition of 1676, and repeated in other editions, but corrected in the *errata*.

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would indicate a cubit of about ½ an inch less, but the same figure is said to be equal to only ⅛th of the Agra cubit, which would therefore be about 32¾ in. This is very near the *iláhí gaz* of Akbar, namely 33 in. The *tassú* of Agra was, therefore, about 1⅓ in. English.

The *Coss.*—As stated above, Tavernier regarded the *coss* and the *lieue* as equivalent values, frequent illustrations of which are pointed out in the foot-notes. In Book I, chap. iv, he speaks of the *coss* between Surat and Burhánpur as short, a cart being able to traverse one in an hour; but between the latter and Sironj the *coss* were longer, a cart taking up to five quarters of an hour; between Sironj and Agra they were common *coss*, of which there were 106; the true distance is about 220 miles. In general, I have found that the true distances indicate a value of 2 miles, approximately, for Tavernier's *coss*. Thus, between Golconda and Masulipatam the distance is given as 100 *coss*, the true distance being about 210 miles. Thevenot speaks of the *coss* as being equal to half a league; but his *lieue* must have been a double one, since, in the particular instance just quoted, he represents the distance as being 53 *lieues*.

The *Gos* of Tavernier appears to have been the same as the *gow* (Hind. *gau*) of some other authors, and this term is at present in use locally both in parts of India and Ceylon; but in the latter country it represents a smaller value than it does in the Peninsula, as stated in the note on page 47. In three different places, Book II, chap. xii, and in Book II, chap. xviii, the value of the *gos* is stated to be 4 *lieues*; in other words, 4 *coss*, or say from 8 to 9 miles, which is the value of the *gau* in S. India at present. According to Tavernier it was the unit of measurement between Surat and Goa, and was also used between Golconda and the Diamond Mines.

END OF VOL. I

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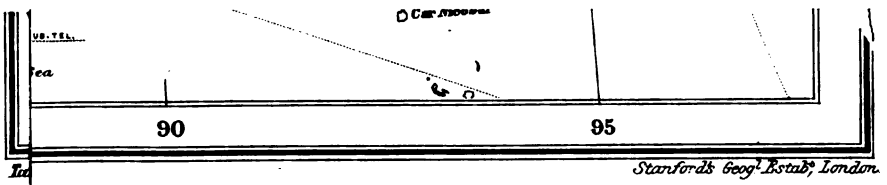

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